

Notable British Trials

The Court-Martial of ~~the~~
“Bounty” Mutineers

NOTABLE BRITISH TRIALS SERIES

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William Bligh

Drawn by J. Russell, R A

(From "Pitcairn," by the Rev. Thos. Boyles Murray)

The Court-Martial of the “Bounty” Mutineers

EDITED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

Owen Rutter, F.R.G.S.

Late District Magistrate, British North Borneo Civil Service.



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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD BLANESBURGH
P.C., G.B.E., D.C.L., LL.D.

THE "BOUNTY" MUTINEERS.

INTRODUCTION.

Part I.

The "Bounty's" Voyage to Tahiti.

THE mutiny of the "Bounty" was an episode which, although in itself of no peculiar importance in naval history, had singular consequences; on the one hand, it was the direct cause of what was perhaps the finest feat of navigation in the annals of the sea, and, on the other, it led to the founding of a British settlement which still flourishes to-day.

These are facts; and in the mutiny itself there is a psychological aspect of unusual interest to the student of human behaviour, for the spark which fired that train of circumstance leapt from the clash of two opposing and irreconcilable temperaments: that of Bligh, the Cornishman, efficient sailor and ruthless disciplinarian, and that of Fletcher Christian, who was of Manx extraction, a man with more scholarship than was common in masters' mates of those days, and with a sensitive pride that could be lacerated by Bligh's torturing tongue. The disciplinarian often lacks insight into the characters of others; for vision means sympathy, and with sympathy discipline can have little concern. But had Bligh had the vision to see that all men are not of one pattern or realised that treatment one man may endure another will rebel against, or had Fletcher Christian been better schooled to accept hard words as the legal tender of naval service, then there would have been no mutiny in the "Bounty."

The "Bounty" expedition marked a new phase in British colonial policy. Its object was neither colonial expansion nor geographical exploration, but rather the turning to practical account, for the benefit of British possessions overseas, the results of previous discovery. During the second voyage of the "Resolution" Captain Cook had found the bread-fruit tree growing abundantly in the Society Islands, and had brought its food-value to the general notice of the public in England, with the result that in 1787 a number of

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West India merchants and planters in London petitioned the Government to introduce the tree into the West Indies, where they considered its fruit would prove invaluable as a supplementary foodstuff for the slaves on the plantations.

The proposal was supported by Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society, and was approved by George III. Accordingly, the Navy Board was authorised to buy a merchant ship, the "Bethia," of 215 tons burden, for the purpose of conveying bread-fruit plants from the Society Islands to the West Indies. She was refitted at Deptford under the supervision of Sir Joseph Banks, registered as an armed vessel (she carried four short four-pounders and ten half-pound swivel guns), and was re-christened the "Bounty." Lieutenant William Bligh, who had served under Cook as sailing-master in the "Resolution," was appointed to command her, on the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks.

The Navy Board paid only £1950 for the ship, but the cost of refitting her was £4456,¹ much attention being paid to providing sufficient accommodation for the plants, so that the whole of the main cabin was set aside for their reception; Bligh states that "the great cabin was appropriated for the preservation of the plants, and extended as far forward as the after hatchway. It had two large sky-lights, and on each side three scuttles for air, and was fitted with a false floor cut full of holes to contain the garden-pots, in which the plants were to be brought home. The deck was covered with lead, and at the foremost corners of the cabin were fixed pipes to carry off the water that drained from the plants, into tubs placed below to save it for future use. I had a small cabin on one side to sleep in, adjoining to the great cabin, and a place near the middle of the ship to eat in. The bulk-head of this apartment was at the after-part of the main hatchway, and on each side of it were the births of the mates and midshipmen; between these births the arm-chest was placed. The cabin of the master, in which was always kept the key of the arms, was opposite to mine."²

¹ From the Admiralty description of the ship. *Vide* Sir Everard im Thurn's bibliography in "The Pitcairn Island Register Book," No. 8.

² "A Voyage to the South Sea," pp. 2-3.

The "Bounty's" Voyage to Tahiti.

As Bligh observes, this particular description of the interior of the ship is rendered necessary by "the event of the expedition."

After many delays owing to bad weather, the "Bounty" finally sailed from Spithead on 23rd December, 1787, stored and victualled for eighteen months, her complement consisting of the commander, the master, three warrant officers—the boatswain, the gunner, and the carpenter—two master's mates, two midshipmen, and thirty-four petty officers and seamen, together with a botanist and a gardener, who were carried as supernumeraries; a total of forty-six souls. At the time of the mutiny there were five midshipmen on board, but the muster of the "Bounty," which may be seen in the Public Record Office, shows that three of these had joined the ship as able seamen.³ It is also worth noticing that none of the seamen appear to have been pressed men, unlike some of the fifteen shown on the "run list," who deserted while the ship was at Deptford and Portsmouth.⁴

The voyage to Tahiti has been described in detail by Bligh himself in the work already quoted, but his despatches to the Admiralty have never been published, and they give so graphic a description of the voyage and its vicissitudes that it seems worth while to reproduce them here.⁵

The first, addressed to Mr. Philip Stephens, the Secretary to the Admiralty, was written from Teneriffe, the "Bounty's" first port of call, and is marked "R [eceived] 9 March. Read 10th do." Like the later despatches, it is written throughout in Bligh's hand—

[No. 1.]

Bounty at Tenariff
Jany 9th 1788.

Sir,

I request you will be pleased to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I arrived here on the 6th Instant to take in wines for the Ship's Company, which will be completed this day, and some damages done to my Boats in a heavy Gale of Wind on

³ At this period it was a common practice to enter a would-be officer as an A.B. and he would be rated midshipman after a short period of service. Sometimes he entered as "Captain's servant," and this system, though not applicable to influential entrants, continued almost until the cadet system was evolved.

⁴ "The 'Bounty's' Compleat Book, commencing 20th August, 1787, and ending 22nd October, 1790." Admiralty Muster 26, 10744.

⁵ They are in the Public Record Office, Admiralty I., 1506.

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the 27th Decr and also the Ship being repair'd. I shall sail to-morrow and proceed on my Voyage with the utmost dispatch according to their Lordships' directions.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,
WM. BLIGH.

[No. 2.]

Bounty, False Bay, C.G.Hope.⁶
May 24th, 1788.

[R. Oct 7, & read.]

Sir,

You will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that after experiencing the worst of weather for 30 Days between the latitude of 58° 00' and 61° 00', by constant Gales of Wind from SW to NW off Cape Horn, I have been under the absolute necessity of bearing away for this place, as I found it totally impracticable to get round the land and make the passage to Otaheite⁷ agreeable to their Lordships' first orders.⁸

I hope their Lordships will observe that it was not possible to make more of the Season than I have done. I left Spithead on the 23d of December, Tenarif on the 10th Jany, doubled Staten Land on the 23d of March, from which time the weather was exceedingly tempestuous, particularly the last three weeks, when the Snow Storms became so violent we were scarce ever doing better than lying to and drifting before the Wind. In this situation my People at last began to be affected with severe Rheumatisms and I had three accidents from the violent motion of the ship—two men fell and dislocated their shoulders and one broke a rib. The ship began to be leaky, but in all other respects as good as a vessel could possibly be; this encreased our labour, and, seeing no prospect of success, I conceived it would be hazarding the object of the Voyage, and my conduct reprehensible under the discretional orders I was honour'd with, to persist any longer, as I had not a moment's time to spare to proceed and refit at the Cape of Good Hope and to be in time to pass the intricate parts of the Voyage and to secure a completion of it.

From these considerations I bore away on the 22d of April, repassed Staten Land on the 23d and without ever being in Port

⁶ In his printed narrative (*op. cit.*, p. 54) Bligh mentions that he made for False Bay, because Table Bay was reckoned "unsafe riding" at that season.

⁷ Tahiti.

⁸ Bligh's original instructions had been to take the route round Cape Horn, but as the season was even then well advanced, he had applied for, and obtained, discretional orders to proceed via the Cape of Good Hope. *Vide* "A Voyage to the South Sea," pp. 8, 11.

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from the time of leaving Tenariffe, I arrived here this day with every Man and Officer in as good health as when they left England, notwithstanding for these last three Months we have never been able to have our Hatches open for six hours together.

I shall refit with the utmost dispatch and proceed on the Voyage by New Holland and New-Zealand.

I send this by dispatch to Table Bay, from whence I hear a Dutch ship is immediately to sail, and I shall on leaving this place acquaint their Lordships of my proceedings while here and of the day of my sailing.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very obliged and most humble Servant,

WM. BLIGH.

Phillip Stephens Esq.⁹

[No. 3.]

Bounty in False Bay, Cape of Good Hope.

June 28th 1788.

[R. 15 Oct & read.]

Sir,

You will please to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I am now ready for sea, with his Majesty's Ship under my command, and shall sail and execute their Lordships' directions with the utmost dispatch. My route will be by the south part of New Holland and New Zealand. My People are in perfect health and Ship thoroughly refitted. This is the fourth letter I have had the honor to write to acquaint their Lordships of my proceedings.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedt & very Humble Servant,

WM. BLIGH.

To Phillip Stephens Esq.

That was the last despatch Bligh was to write from his own ship.

The "Bounty" sailed from the Cape on 1st July, and after putting in to Adventure Bay, Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania), for wood and water, reached Tahiti on 26th October, 1788.

From Bligh's published narrative there is no reason to suppose that he was not on the best of terms with every one in the ship. But another record of the voyage shows that not

⁹ A duplicate of this letter, in the handwriting of Mr. Samuel, the clerk, was despatched by a French packet proceeding to Havre. This reached the Admiralty on 21st August—six weeks before the original.

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only was there dissension among the crew after the ship left Teneriffe, but that Bligh was scarcely on speaking terms with his own officers. This record is the journal of James Morrison, the boatswain's mate of the "Bounty," who remained in the ship with the mutineers, and was one of those tried by court-martial. Morrison had previously served in the Navy as a midshipman, and was a man of considerable talent and education; his diary is one of the most important documents in the "Bounty" literature, for it describes, in considerable detail and with recorded conversations, many incidents that took place during the outward voyage, at Tahiti, on the eve of the mutiny, and after the mutineers had put Bligh adrift. This manuscript has never been published as a whole, although numerous quotations have been made from it, and its present whereabouts are a mystery. My own efforts to trace it have been unsuccessful, and Sir Basil Thomson tells me that he too has searched for it in vain. There appears no reason to doubt the authenticity of the journal, however. According to Lady Belcher,¹⁰ Morrison kept a note-book in which he recorded daily occurrences from the time the "Bounty" left England until he returned as a prisoner. He preserved the book in the wreck of the "Pandora," and during the three months he was awaiting trial in England he employed himself in making his notes into a consecutive narrative. This manuscript, consisting of 300 pages folio, he presented to Peter Heywood, the only midshipman of the "Bounty" to be tried by court-martial; it was found among Captain Heywood's papers after his death and passed into the possession of his step-daughter, Lady Belcher, who quotes freely from it in her work. Previous to this, John Marshall had quoted from it in his notice of Peter Heywood's career;¹ so had Sir John Barrow in "The Eventful History of the Mutiny of the 'Bounty.'"² Sir John mentions² that various passages in it had been corrected, either by Captain Heywood or some other person, but without altering their sense, and the passages quoted by the respective authors occasionally differ in phrasing. While

¹⁰ "The Mutineers of the 'Bounty,'" pp. 15, 152.

¹ "Royal Naval Biography," vol. ii., Part II., article on Peter Heywood.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

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it is probable that most of the "meatier" passages in the journal have been published, there must still be a considerable portion that has not, and I am not without hope that the publication of this volume may bring the apparently forgotten manuscript to light.

Since Morrison transcribed his notes after Bligh had branded him as a mutineer, a fact which nearly cost him his life, one could scarcely expect the journal to be strictly impartial. As Sir John Barrow observes, some of the incidents recorded "may occasionally be too highly coloured," yet they are related in so circumstantial a manner as to have a ring of truth. Most of Morrison's criticisms against Bligh on the outward voyage refer to the issue of rations. Partly for reasons of economy and partly because of the limited cabin accommodation in the ship, Bligh united the offices of commander and purser; he did all he could to husband his stores, and, although he cannot be blamed for that, his methods gave rise to continual discontent. The following incident, one of several, will serve as an example:

"On approaching the equator, some decayed pumpkins, purchased at Teneriffe, were ordered to be issued to the crew, at the rate of *one* pound of pumpkin for *two* pounds of biscuit. The reluctance of the men to accept this proposed substitute, *on such terms*, being reported to Lieutenant Bligh, he flew upon deck in a violent rage, turned the hands up, and ordered the first man on the list of each mess to be called by name; at the same time saying, 'I'll see who will dare to refuse the pumpkin, or anything else I may order to be served out'; to which he added, 'You d—d infernal scoundrels, I'll make you eat grass, or any thing you can catch, before I have done with you.' This speech had the desired effect, every one receiving the pumpkins, even the *officers*." ³

Now there has probably never been a ship's company who have not grumbled about their food, any more than there has ever been a battalion of soldiers who have not grumbled about theirs. In those days the grumbling was no doubt justified, for the rations, consisting mainly of salt pork and salt beef issued on alternate days, and hard bread (biscuits), lacked delicacy as much as they lacked variety. But as

³ Quoted from "The Eventful History," p. 76.

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against complaints such as these there is plenty of evidence to show that Bligh did care for his men, just as he cared for his ship; it is impossible to read his own narrative without feeling this, and a neglectful commander could not have brought a fit ship's company to the Cape of Good Hope after three months of the weather he describes. Bligh's trouble really seems to have been that he lacked any semblance of tact in handling men, whether officers or seamen. His whole career shows that he had the unfortunate knack of putting people's backs up, so that things he did and said rankled in the minds of others long after he had forgotten them. This unfortunate trait was to have the most serious consequences, and it is significant that long before the "Bounty" reached Tahiti Bligh was (according to Morrison) at logger-heads with his own officers, and had taken to messing apart from the master and the surgeon.

Yet his efficiency as the commander of an expedition to an island inhabited by primitive people is shown in the standing orders he issued the day before the "Bounty" dropped anchor in Matavai Bay. They form so striking a contrast to the tyrannical attitude he displayed at other times that they are worth quoting in full:

Rules to be observed by every Person on Board, or belonging to the "Bounty," for the better establishing a Trade for Supplies or Provisions and good Intercourse with the Natives of the South Sea, wherever the Ship may be at.

1st. At the Society, or Friendly Islands, no person whatever is to intimate that Captain Cook was killed by Indians; or that he is dead.

2d. No person is ever to speak, or give the least hint, that we have come on purpose to get the bread-fruit plant, until I have made my plan known to the chiefs.

3d. Every person is to study to gain the good will and esteem of the natives; to treat them with all kindness; and not to take from them by violent means, any thing they may have stolen; and no one is ever to fire, but in defence of his life.

4th. Every person employed on service is to take care that no arms, or implements of any kind under their charge, are stolen; the value of such thing, being lost shall be charged against their wages.

5th. No man is to embezzle, or offer to sale, directly, or indirectly, any part of the King's stores, of what nature soever.

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6th. A proper person or persons will be appointed to regulate trade, and barter with the natives; and no officer or seaman, or other person belonging to the ship, is to trade for any kind of provisions, or curiosities; but if such officer or seaman wishes to purchase any particular thing, he is to apply to the provider to do it for him. By this means a regular market will be carried on, and all disputes, which otherwise may happen with the natives, will be avoided. All boats are to have every thing handed out of them at sun-set.

Given under my hand, on board the “Bounty,” Otaheite,
25th Oct. 1788.

WM. BLIGH.⁴

⁴ Quoted from the rare pamphlet written by Bligh, in answer to the assertions contained in Edward Christian's “Appendix,” to which reference is made later, p. 56.

Part II.

The "Bounty" at Tahiti.

The natives of Tahiti received Bligh and the whole ship's company with unaffected friendliness, showering hospitality upon them. Bligh encountered no obstacles in procuring the bread-fruit plants he required, but for some reason that seems quite inexplicable in so zealous an officer, he did not hasten their collection, and so far from executing their lordships' directions with the "utmost dispatch," as promised in his letter to the Admiralty, he kept the "Bounty" at Tahiti from 26th October, 1788, until 4th April, 1789. He offers no explanation of this delay, nor does one ever seem to have been demanded of him; but that he allowed the collection to be spread over an unnecessary length of time is clear from the fact that on his second expedition he was able to collect the plants he required in three months; and that cannot be regarded as hustling, even when allowance is made for the necessary recuperation period for the crew after a long voyage.

Whatever his reasons, stay he did. The result was almost inevitable. The routine of life afloat was relaxed and the island offered every possible allurements. The men had little to do but enjoy themselves. Idleness is the enemy of discipline, and Bligh lost the firm control he had had over his men at sea, and, it would appear, never regained it. One of the most serious consequences was that at the relief of the morning watch (4 a.m.) on 5th January, 1789, the "Bounty's" small cutter was missing, and on mustering the ship's company Bligh found that Charles Churchill, the master-at-arms (or ship's corporal), and two seamen, William Muspratt and John Millward, had deserted in her with eight stand of arms and ammunition. Millward had been on ~~sentry~~ duty from midnight to 2 a.m.⁵ The men were captured on 23rd January, when Churchill was sentenced to two dozen lashes, Millward and Muspratt four dozen each.⁶ They

⁵ Bligh, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁶ Morrison, quoted from Lady Belcher.

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were then put in irons. Three days later they wrote the following remarkable letter to their commander :—

Sir,

We should think ourselves wholly inexcusable if we omitted taking the earliest opportunity of returning our thanks for your goodness in delivering us from a trial by Court Martial, the fatal consequences of which are obvious : and although we cannot possibly lay claim to so great a favour, yet we humbly beg you will be pleased to remit any further punishment; and we trust our future conduct will fully demonstrate our deep sense of your clemency, and our steadfast resolution to behave better hereafter.

We are,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servants,

C. CHURCHILL, WM. MUSPRATT, JOHN MILLWARD.⁷

In his published narrative Bligh mentions the bare facts, but in his original journal, referring to the desertion, he says :—" Had the mate of the watch been awake, no trouble of this kind would have happened. I have therefore disgraced and turned him before the mast : such neglectful and worthless petty officers, I believe, never were in a ship as are in this. No orders for a few hours together are obeyed by them, and their conduct in general is so bad, that no confidence or trust can be reposed in them; in short, they have driven me to every thing but corporal punishment, and that must follow if they do not improve."

The mate of the watch to whom Bligh refers was Thomas Hayward, who was kept in irons until 23rd March. Bligh had no better opinion of his master and boatswain, Fryer and Cole, for he has a later entry, after finding many of the sails in the sail-room mildewed and rotten, commenting on their neglect : " If I had any officers to supersede the master and boatswain, or was capable of doing without them, considering them as common seamen, they should no longer occupy their respective stations; scarcely any neglect of duty can equal the criminality of this."

Again, on 7th March a native whom Bligh had confined in irons succeeded in escaping while another midshipman, George Stewart, was mate of the watch. Bligh's comment on this negligence is no less caustic : " I had given a written

⁷ This letter was published by Bligh in his " Answer to Certain Assertions," &c., already cited.

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order that the mate of the watch was to be answerable for the prisoners, and to visit and see that they were safe in his watch, but I have such a neglectful set about me, that I believe nothing but condign punishment can alter their conduct. Verbal orders, in the course of a month, were so forgotten, that they would impudently assert, no such thing or directions were given, and I have been at last under the necessity to trouble myself with writing, what by decent young officers, would be complied with as the common rules of the service.”⁸

Like Morrison’s journal, the document from which these plain-spoken words are taken has never been published in full. From Bligh’s despatch, dated 15th October, 1789,⁹ it appears that it was forwarded to the Admiralty, and it was probably the ship’s log, but diligent search among the Admiralty records has failed to reveal it. The observations quoted are sufficient evidence of Bligh’s attitude towards his own officers; and it cannot be denied that he had cause for his complaints. But as a rule the behaviour of a ship’s company may be fairly regarded as the mirror of the commander, and the wonder is that, seeing the slackness that was beginning to prevail, Bligh did not hasten the ship’s departure.

When the “Bounty” eventually sailed on 4th April, 1789, she had on board, to use Bligh’s words, “1015 beautiful Breadfruit Plants, and many fruit kind, in all 774 Pots, 39 Tubs, and 24 Boxes.”¹ On 12th April, the island of Whytootacke (Aitukaki, the northernmost island of the Cook group) was discovered, and they made the Friendly Islands (now usually known as the Tonga Group) on the 21st, anchoring off the island of Annamooka (Nomuka) two days later to wood and water.

⁸ The three quotations are taken from “The Eventful History,” pp. 81-3. Barrow had had access to the journal, and states (p. 74) that it contained many important particulars which were not published in his printed narrative.

⁹ *Vide post*, p. 22.

¹ Despatch to the Admiralty, written at Batavia and dated 15th October, 1789. Adm. I., 1506.

Part III.

The Mutiny.

Now began the series of clashes between Bligh and Fletcher Christian, one of the two master's mates, which were to have such dreadful consequences to everyone on board. The trouble had probably been brewing for weeks. At least Edward Christian records in his "Appendix" that Bligh had been unusually severe on Fletcher, even abusing him before the natives and telling a chief that the master's mate was but his (Bligh's) slave. Captain F. W. Beechey, in his "Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific in H.M.S. 'Blossom'," mentions that when visiting Pitcairn Island in 1825 John Adams told him Christian was under some pecuniary obligations to Bligh, and that Bligh frequently reminded him of these when any difference arose. According to Adams, Christian had once so far forgotten himself as to tell his commander that sooner or later a day of reckoning would arrive; there is no evidence to corroborate this indication of open mutiny, which, had it been uttered, Bligh could scarcely have passed over; it is more likely that it is a case of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, Adam's account having been given to Captain Beechey thirty-five years after the event.

Be that as it may, it is not difficult to imagine how Bligh's treatment must have embittered Christian, who appears to have been more highly strung than his shipmates. He was the fourth son of Charles Christian, of Mairlandclere, in Cumberland, a family that could trace its descent back to William M'Christian, who in 1422 had been a representative in the Manx House of Keys. Christian had already served under Bligh on two voyages to the West Indies, and it had been through Bligh's own recommendation that he had joined the "Bounty." It is admitted that Bligh had taken considerable trouble in teaching this young officer his profession (he was no more than twenty-four at the time of the mutiny), and during the outward voyage of the "Bounty" had placed sufficient confidence in him as to appoint him to

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take charge of the third watch, "his abilities being thoroughly equal to the task."² Perhaps he considered that his past favours gave him the right to treat Christian as he chose, but, at all events, when all allowances are made for the manners of naval service in those days, there is no question but that Bligh's behaviour was abominable. It was not merely a matter of severity or merited rebuke, but culminated in taunts of cowardice and unfounded accusations of theft.

One of the authorities for these incidents is an unpublished manuscript journal written by John Fryer, the master. A copy of this is in the library of the Royal United Service Institution. I call it a copy, because internal evidence convinces me that it is such, and a comparison between the signature ("Fryer, Master") at the end of the manuscript and Fryer's signature as appended to the "Bounty's" muster seems to show that the two are not identical. However, of its authenticity there can be no doubt, and, although the author acknowledges that it was written after his return to England, the narrative is set down in considerable detail.

Fryer observes that when working the ship on the "Bounty's" departure from Tahiti Bligh and Christian "had some words," and that Christian protested: "Sir, your abuse is so bad that I cannot do my duty with any pleasure." At Annamooka (I follow here the spelling of the day) Christian was sent ashore in charge of a watering party. He found the natives of a temper very different from that of the gentle people at Tahiti; their behaviour became menacing, but Christian, mindful of his commander's orders, refrained from firing or attacking them; they became so troublesome, however, that he reported to Bligh that he found it difficult to carry on. According to Morrison's journal, Bligh thereupon called him a damned cowardly rascal, and asked him if he were afraid of naked savages. To which Christian is said to have replied, in a

² Bligh, *op. cit.*, p. 232. Besides the favour shown to Christian, this was an example of Bligh's professional consideration for his officers and men, for it meant that the seamen had unbroken rest, and that the master and the gunner were not at watch and watch.

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respectful manner, "The arms are of no effect, sir, while your orders prohibit their use."³

Three days later, when the ship was off the island of Tofoa (Tofua), in the same group, occurred the episode which was the direct forerunner of the mutiny. There are three different accounts of this. The following is Morrison's:—"In the afternoon of April 27 Mr. Bligh came up on the quarter deck, and missing some of the cocoa nuts which were piled up between the guns, said they had been stolen, and that it must have been with the knowledge and connivance of the officers. They were all called up, and declared they had not seen any man touch them; to which Lieut. Bligh replied: 'Then you have taken them yourselves,' and ordered Elphinstone, the Master's mate, to go down and bring up every cocoa nut in the ship, which he did. They were very numerous as the sailors had made large purchases on their own account. He then questioned each officer as to the number he had bought, and going up to Christian, asked him to state the number in his possession. 'I really do not know, Sir,' Mr. Christian replied, 'but I hope you do not think me so mean as to be guilty of stealing yours.' 'Yes,' said Bligh, 'you — hound, I do think so. You must have stolen them from me, or you could give a better account of them. You — rascals, you are all thieves alike and combine with the men to rob me. You will steal my yams next. I will flog you, and make you jump overboard before we reach Endeavour Straits.'" He then told the clerk, Mr. Samuel, to "stop the villains' grog and give them but half a pound of yams to-morrow," adding that if any were missed he would reduce the allowance to a quarter.⁴

The following account appears in Edward Christian's "Appendix." It may have been contributed by Morrison himself, from whom the author stated that he had received letters; but that is not certain, and the source of the information is not indicated. This account mentions that a number of coconuts had been bought from the natives at the

³ Quoted from "The Eventful History," p. 78.

⁴ Quoted from Lady Belcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30. It is interesting to compare this passage with the corresponding extract from the journal in "The Eventful History" (pp. 79-80), for in places the original appears to have been paraphrased, although the passage is set between quotation marks. The blanks are Lady Belcher's.

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rate of twenty for a nail. Bligh's heap lay on the deck. On the morning of 27th April Bligh came on deck and complained to Fryer that his heap had diminished. Fryer suggested that they had been pressed closer by the men running over them in the night. But Bligh would not accept this explanation, and calling Christian, the officer of the morning watch, he cried, "Damn your blood, you have stolen my cocoa nuts!" To this Christian replied, "I was dry, I thought it of no consequence. I took one only, and I am sure no one touched another." Bligh answered, "You lie, you scoundrel, you have stolen one half." Christian, who appeared much hurt and agitated, then said: "Why do you treat me thus, Captain Bligh?" Whereupon Bligh "shook his hand" in Christian's face and said, "No reply," and called him a thief. Bligh then ordered the coconuts to be brought up and harangued the ship's company, desiring "the people to look after the officers, and the officers to look after the people, for there never were such a thieving set of rascals in the world before," and swore he would reduce the yam allowance to three-quarters.

At four o'clock that afternoon Bligh abused Christian again, and the narrative states that "Christian came forward from Captain Bligh crying; tears were running fast from his eyes in big drops." Purcell, the carpenter, asked him what was the matter.

"Can you ask me, and hear the treatment I receive?" replied Christian.

"Do I not receive as bad as you do?" said Purcell.⁵

"You have something⁶ to protect you and can speak again," answered Christian, "but if I should speak to him as you do, he would probably break me, turn me before the mast, and perhaps flog me. If he did, it would be the deaths of us both, for I am sure I should take him in my arms and jump overboard with him."

"Never mind," said Purcell, "it is but for a short time longer."

⁵ This man had been in trouble with Bligh on more than one occasion, and had been confined to his cabin while the "Bounty" was at Tahiti for "mutinous and insolent behaviour." Bligh's MS. Journal, quoted in "The Eventful History," p. 81.

⁶ I.e., his warrant. Warrant officers could be punished only by suspension and confinement, and could not be flogged and disgraced like the midshipmen and petty officers.

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"In going through Endeavour Straits," said Christian, "I am sure the ship will be a hell."

Cole, the boatswain, also tried to console Christian and told him to "keep his heart up," to which Christian replied, "To be counted a thief is more than I can bear." Later he was heard to say "by another person" (doubtless the narrator, who wished to remain anonymous), "I would rather die ten thousand deaths than bear this treatment. I always do my duty as an officer and as a man ought to do, yet I receive this scandalous usage."

Fryer mentions the same affair of the coconuts in the manuscript journal already referred to. He describes how Bligh called to him, saying, "Mr. Fryer, don't you think those cocoa nuts are shrunk since last night?" and had all the nuts brought up on deck, examining both the officers and the seamen. He then told them that he would allow them $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of yams—more than the usual allowance—but threatened to put them on three-quarters if he did not find out who had taken the nuts. "I take care of you now for my own good," he added, "but when I get you through the Straits you may all go to hell."

These three accounts, it will be seen, vary in certain particulars (those who have had experience of examining witnesses will know how rarely two statements by different persons do tally, especially after a lapse of years between the event and the testimony), but they serve to show that Bligh worked himself into a passion over a trivial matter and hurled wild accusations at his officers. In his journal Fryer does not mention that Christian had been singled out as the culprit, but he states that he was subsequently told by Cole and Purcell that Christian was distressed at being called a thief. In his evidence-in-chief at the court-martial he stated that Bligh had "challenged all the young gentlemen and people with stealing his cocoa nuts," and gave it as his opinion that Christian's state of mind was due to the frequent quarrels he had had with Bligh and the abuse he had received.⁷

And now comes an interesting sidelight on Bligh's character. His passions were apt to ebb as swiftly as they

⁷ Vide "Minutes," p. 80.

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flowed, and an hour or so after he had abused Christian for the second time he sent him an invitation to sup with him that very evening. Christian, however, excused himself, on the pretence of being unwell, "for which," says Bligh in his printed narrative, "I felt concerned, having no suspicions of his integrity and honour."⁸ Fryer states (in the journal) that after Christian had thus excused himself, the other officers agreed between themselves not to sup with the commander should he ask them; but when it came to the point and Hayward was asked, he accepted the invitation, and was thereupon hissed by the rest.

Such, then, was the situation on the afternoon of 27th April, 1789. I have dwelt upon it at some length, because it seems important to emphasise the fact that what followed was due not to any peculiar vice on the part of Fletcher Christian, and to show that the cause of the mutiny is to be found in the exacerbated mental condition into which he worked himself over Bligh's treatment. Yet, if one may believe the assertion in Edward Christian's "Appendix," his first idea was to desert the ship rather than to mutiny, hoping that he would be picked up by a native canoe—for, it will be remembered, the ship was not far from land. That evening he gave away the curios he had collected, and was seen in the forechains tearing up letters and papers and throwing them overboard; he then applied to the carpenter for some nails, and was allowed to take as many as he pleased from the locker.

The story of his preparations, and his change of plans, may be continued by the following extract from Morrison's journal. According to Morrison, this was Christian's own account, given to Heywood and Stewart after Bligh had been turned adrift in the "Bounty's" launch: "Finding himself much hurt by the treatment he had received from Lieutenant Bligh, he had determined to quit the ship the preceding evening, and had informed the boatswain, carpenter, and two midshipmen (Stewart and Hayward), of his intention to do so; that by them he was supplied with part of a roasted pig, some nails, beads, and other articles of trade, which he put into a bag that was given him by the last-named gentle-

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 237.

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man; that he put this bag into the clue of Robert Tinkler's hammock, where it was discovered by that young gentleman when going to bed at night, but the business was smothered, and passed off without any further notice. He said he had fastened some staves to a stout plank, with which he intended to make his escape; but finding he could not effect it during the first and middle watches,⁹ as the ship had no way through the water, and the people were all moving about,¹ he laid down to rest about half-past three in the morning; that when Mr. Stewart called him to relieve the deck at four o'clock, he had but just fallen asleep, and was much out of order; upon observing which, Mr. Stewart strenuously advised him to abandon his intention; that as soon as he had taken charge of the deck, he saw Mr. Hayward, the mate of the watch, lie down on the arm-chest to take a nap; and finding that Mr. Hallet, the other midshipman, did not make his appearance, he suddenly formed the resolution of seizing the ship. Disclosing his intention to Matthew Quintal and Isaac Martin, both of whom had been flogged by Lieutenant Bligh, they called up Charles Churchill, who had also tasted the cat, and Matthew Thompson, both of whom readily joined in the plot. That Alexander Smith (*alias* John Adams), John Williams, and William M'Koy, evinced equal willingness, and went with Churchill to the armourer, of whom they obtained the keys of the arm-chest, under pretence of wanting a musket to fire at a shark, then alongside; that finding Mr. Hallet asleep on an arm-chest in the main-hatchway, they roused and sent him on deck. Charles Norman, unconscious of their proceedings, had in the mean time awaked Mr. Hayward and directed his attention to the shark, whose movements he was watching at the moment that Mr. Christian and his confederates came up the fore-hatchway, after having placed arms in the hands of several men who were not aware of their design. One man, Matthew Thompson, was left in charge of the chest, and he served out arms to Thomas Burkitt and Robert Lamb. Mr. Christian said he then proceeded to secure Lieutenant Bligh, the ~~master~~ master, gunner, and botanist."²

⁹ Kept by the master and the gunner respectively.

¹ Looking at the volcano on Tofoa, as the "Appendix" states.

² Quoted from "The Eventful History," p. 86-7.

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The subsequent events of the mutiny are unfolded by the witnesses at the court-martial. But since the first evidence to be put in against the prisoners was Bligh's despatch to the Secretary of the Admiralty, written after his arrival at Coupang, in the Dutch East Indies, and since no copy of this letter is included in the minutes of the court-martial, it will be well to quote here that part of it which relates to the mutiny :

Coupang in Timor. August 18th 1789.

Sir,

I am now unfortunately to request of you to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that His Majesty's Armed Vessel "Bounty" under my Command was taken from me by some of the inferior Officers and Men on the 28th April 1789 in the following manner.—A little before Sunrise Fletcher Christian, who was Mate of the Ship and Officer of the Watch, with the Ships Corporal came into my Cabbin while I was a sleep, and seizing me, tied my hands with a Cord assisted by others, who were also in the Cabbin all armed with Musquets and Bayonets. I was now threatned with instant death if I spoke a word. I however called for assistance, and awakened every one; but the Officers who were in their Cabbins were secured by Centinels at their Doors so that no one could come to me.—The Arms were all secured, and I was forced on Deck in my Shirt with my hands tyed, and secured by a Guard abaft the Mizen Mast, during which the Mutineers expressed much joy that they would soon again see Otaheite.

I now demanded of Christian the cause of such a violent act, but no other Answer was given but hold your tongue Sir, or you are dead this Instant, and holding me by the Cord which tied my hands, he as often threatned to stab me in the Breast with a Bayonet he held in his right hand.

I however did my utmost to rally the disaffected Villains to a sense of their duty but to no effect. The Boatswain was ordered to hoist the Launch out, and while I was kept under a Guard with Christian at their head abaft the Mizen Mast, the Officers and Men not concerned in the Mutiny were ordered into the Boat. This being done I was told by Christian, Sir your Officers and Men are now in the Boat, and you must go with them, and with the Guard they carried me across the Deck with them, Bayonets presented on every side, while attempting to make another effort. One Villain said to the others, blow his Brains out.—I was at last forced into the Boat, and we were then Veered astern, in all Nineteen Souls.

I was at this time 10 Leagues to the SW of Tofoa, the NWr most of the Friendly Islands, having left Otaheite the 4th April with 1015 Fine Bread Fruit Plants, and many Fruit kind in all 774 Pots 39 Tubs & 24 Boxes. These Plants were now in a very

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flourishing Order. I anchored at Annamocha 24th April and left it on the 26th.

The Boatswain and Carpenter with some others while the Boat was alongside collected several necessary things & water and with some difficulty a Compass & Quadrant was got, but Arms of no kind, or any Maps or drawings, of which I have many very Valuable ones.

The Boat was very deep and much lumberd, and in this condition we were cast adrift with about 28 Gallons of Water, 150 lbs of Bread, 30 lbs Pork, 6 Quarts Rum and 6 Bottles of Wine. . . .³

The people who came in the Boat were :

Jno Fryer	Master
Wm Cole	Boatsn
Wm Peckover	Gunner
Wm Purcell	Carpenter
Thos Dr Ledward	Acting Surgeon
Wm Elphinstone	Master Mate
Thos Hayward	Midshipman
Jno Hallett	Midshipman
Jno Samuel	Clerk
Peter Linkletter	QurMr
Jno Norton	Do Killed at Tofoa
Geo Simpson	Dr Mate
Lawce Lebogue	Sailmaker
Robt Tinkler	Ab
Jno Smith	Ab
Thos Hall	Ab
Robert Lamb	Ab
Davd Nelson	Botanist, since Dead
No 18	

The people who remained in the Ship were :

Fletcher Christian	Master's Mate
Geo : Stewart	Acting Do
Peter Heywood	Midn
Edwd Young	Do
Chas Churchill	Corporal
James Morrison	Boats Mate
Jno Mills	Gunns Do
Chas Norman	Carpr Mate
Thos M'Intosh	Do Crew
Josh Coleman	Armourer
Thos Burkitt	Ab
Jno Sumner	Ab
Jno Williams	Ab

were detained
against their
Consent

³ Here follows the passage "The day was calm . . . necessities of life," quoted p. 26.

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Matw Thompson	Ab
Thos Ellison	Ab
Wm Mickoy	Ab
Jno Millward	Ab
Richd Skinner	Ab
Mattw Quintal	Ab
Michl Byrn	Ab
Henry Hilbrant	Ab
Isaac Martin	Ab
Alexr Smith	Ab
Wm Muspratt	Ab
Wm Brown	Botanist's Assistant
No 25	

The secrecy of this Mutiny was beyond all Conception, so that I cannot discover that any who were with me had the least knowledge of it, and the Comparative Lists will shew the Strength of the Pirates.⁴

Such was Bligh's first account of the mutiny. Later, when he reached Batavia, he had leisure to write a more detailed narrative, which he despatched under the following covering letter :⁵

Batavia, Oct 15th 1789.

[Recd. June the 1st 1790 and read.]

Sir,

I beg you will present the enclosed account of my transactions and of the loss of His Majesty's Ship *Bounty* under my command, unto the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by which their Lordships will please to observe that I have begun the account from the arrival of the Ship at the Cape of Good Hope after my return from Cape Horn.

I left at Timor to be sent by the first Vessel that sailed, other accounts⁶ for their Lordships' inspection.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedt & very Humble Servt
WM. BLIGH.

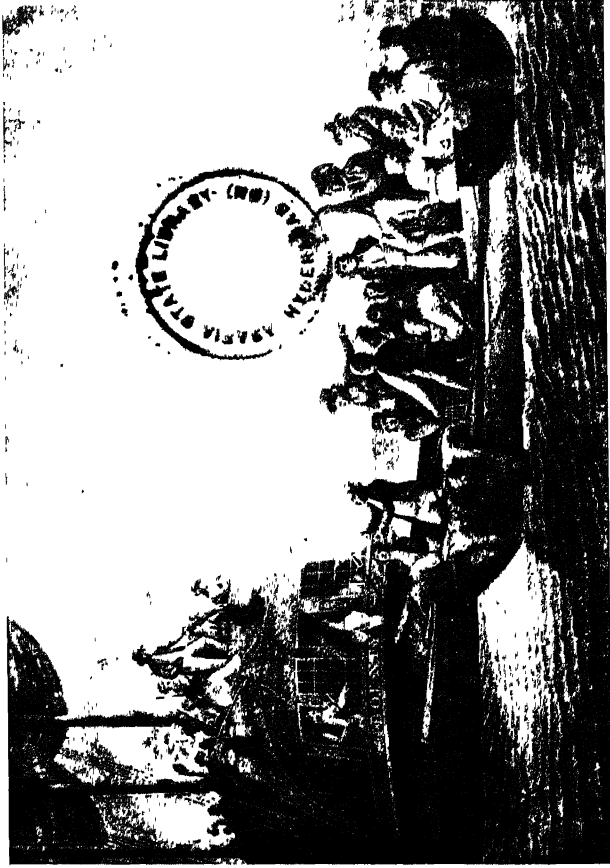
To Phillip Stephens Esq.

The report which follows (hitherto unpublished) begins by stating the " *Bounty's* " movements after leaving the Cape

⁴ The original is in Admiralty I., 1506 (Public Record Office), and a copy was put in and annexed to the minutes of Bligh's court-martial, *vide post*, p 70.

⁵ Admiralty I., 1506. The whole is in Bligh's handwriting.

⁶ Since Bligh uses the plural it must have been from Timor that he sent home his journal (already referred to), an extract from which was quoted at the court-martial. It is referred to in the despatch that follows, and probably did not greatly differ from it.



The Mutineers turning Bligh and his men adrift in the "Bounty's" Launch

From the painting by Robert Dodd

(By Courtesy of the British Museum)

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(in continuation of his letter dated 28th June, 1788, already quoted), until the morning of the mutiny. The passages which deal with the mutiny differ considerably in detail (though not in substance) from the two narratives which Bligh subsequently published,⁷ and are as follows:—

On the 28th April in the Morning the north westermost of the Friendly Islands, called Tofoa, bore NE 10 leagues and I had diverted my course to the WNW with a Ship in most perfect order and all my plants in a most flourishing condition, all my Men and Officers in good health, and in short every thing to flatter and insure my most sanguine expectations.—But I am now to relate one of the most atrocious and consummate acts of piracy ever committed.

Mutiny.

At Dawn of Day Fletcher Christian, Officer of the Watch, Chas Churchill (Ship's Corporal), Thos Burkitt (Seaman), John Mills (Gunner's Mate), came into my Cabbin, and while I was asleep, seized me in my Bed, and tied my hands behind my back with a strong Cord, and with Cutlasses and Bayonets fixed at my Breast, threatened instant death if I spoke or made the least Noise. I nevertheless called out so loud for help that every one heard me and were flying to my assistance, but all my Officers except those who were concerned found themselves secured by armed Centinels.

(a) See my Journal.

I was now haul'd upon Deck in my shirt without a rag else, and my hands tyed behind my back, held by Fletcher Christian and Charles Churchill with a Bayonet at my Breast, and two men, Alexr Smith and Thos Burkitt,(a) behind me, with loaded musquets cocked and Bayonets fixed. Under guard I was placed abaft the Mizen Mast.

The different Hatchways were all guarded by Armed Men in the same manner, and those who were to be sent out of the Ship and some of the Mutineers who could be spared, hoisted the Boat out: Among these were the Boatswain and Carpenter, who with some others got Sails Twine, Rope, Grapnels and a small Cask of Water into the Boat, about which there were many Altercations among the Mutinous Crew.

When I exerted myself in speaking loud to try if I could rally any with a sense of duty in them I was saluted with—damn his Eyes, the Rugger, blow his

⁷ The first was in "A Narrative of the Mutiny," &c. (which was also the narrative of the open boat voyage), published in 1790; and a chapter on the mutiny (a slightly paraphrased version of the former) was in "A Voyage to the South Sea," published in 1792.

Introduction.

brains out, Churchill threatening me with instant death if I did not hold my tongue.

(a) Clerk
Articles
saved.

Time Keeper
lost.

Being confined and kept apart from every one, Mr. Samuel(a) with great resolution exerted himself and secured to me a Quadrant and Compass, some Cloaths, my Journals, and material ship's papers, but all my valuable Instruments and a Time Piece of Mr. Kendal's make, of great value, with a valuable collection of Books, Maps Drawings and Money, with all my remarks and observations for 15 years past were kept from me. He also secured 150 lbs of Bread which proved of more value than every thing else besides.

The Officers and Men being now drove into the boat one by one, I was told by Christian—Come, Capt. Bligh, your Officers and Men are now in the Boat and you must go with them; if you attempt to make the least resistance you will instantly be put to death. I was then taken hold of under a Guard of armed Ruffians and forced over the Gangway into the Boat which waited only for me, and untying my hands we were veered astern by a Rope. A few pounds of Pork were now thrown to us. We were 19 in number and some began to solicit a few of their little Valuables that were left behind. I asked for fire Arms and even at last solicited two; but we received insolence and were told we should have none. Four Cutlasses were however thrown into the Boat and we were cast a drift in a most miserable situation.

Left the
Ship.

Size of Boat.

The size of the Boat was 23 feet from stem to stern and rowed six oars. We were so deep and lumbered that it was believed we could never reach the shore and some of them made their joke of it. We however by 7 O'Clock in the evening got safe under Tofoa but the shore being steep and Rocky could find no Anchorage or landing. I therefore kept the Boat under the land all Night, paddling with 2 oars to preserve our station. . . .

Here follows an account of the events at Tofoa, after which the account proceeds:

Secresy of
Mutiny.

The Secresy of this Mutiny was beyond all conception, and surprising it is that out of 13 of the Bounty who came with me and lived always forward near the People, and among them, no one could discover some symptoms of their bad intentions. With such deep planned acts of Villainy, and my mind free of any suspicions, it is not wonderful that I have been got the better of. I slept always with my Cabbin door open

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for the Officer of the Watch to have access to me on all occasions, for the possibility of such a catastrophe was ever the farthest from my thoughts.

To assign the cause of such a revolution we can only imagine from the huzzas of the Mutineers that they have promised themselves greater pleasure and advantages at Otaheite than they were likely to meet with in their Native Country. To this Land of guile they are certainly returned, a Land where they need not labour, and where the allurements of dissipation are more than equal to any thing that can be conceived. For particulars I must beg leave to refer their Lordships to my Journal.

Christian was the Officer of the Deck and the whole Watch being concerned except the two Midshipmen,⁸ who had no suspicion of what their Officer was about, it is not surprising that the business was speedily done; all the able Men being concerned, as also the greatest number as may be seen by the Descriptive List.⁹

⁸ Hayward and Hallett.

⁹ This was a description of those who had remained in the "Bounty." It is in Bligh's handwriting. Copies of it were sent to the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, the Governor-General of India, and the Governor of the new settlement of Botany Bay, N.S.W.

Part IV.

The Open Boat Voyage.

The remainder of the report (which is 27 pages in all) describes the open boat voyage and details of Bligh's activities after he reached Timor. Bligh's printed account of the voyage appeared in his "Narrative of the Mutiny" and "Voyage to the South Sea," but the Coupang letter, which was read at the court-martial, contained his first report, and, although it is much briefer than the other accounts, it sufficiently indicates the terrible hardships suffered by those whom Christian cast off in the "Bounty's" launch:

The Day was calm attended with Light Breezes, and I got to Tofoa by 7 O'Clock in the Evening, but found no place to land, the shore being so steep and Rocky. On the 30th I found landing in a Cove on the NW part of the Island, and here I remained in search of supplies until 2nd May, when the Natives discovering we had no fire Arms they made an Attack on us with Clubs & Stones. In the course of which I had the Misfortune to loose a very worthy Man, Jno Norton, Quarter Master, and most of us hurt more or less. Our getting into our Boat was no Security, for they followed us in Cannoes loaded with Stones which they then threw with much force and exactness; happily Night saved the rest of us.

I had determined to go to Amsterdam¹⁰ in search of Paulehow the King, but taking this transaction as a real sample of their natural dispositions, there was little hope to expect much from them, for I considered their good behaviour hitherto owing to a dread of our fire Arms, which now knowing us to have none would not be the case, and that supposing our lives were in safety our Boat and every thing would be taken from us and thereby I should never be able to return. I was also earnestly solicited by all Hands to take them towards home, and when I told them no hopes of relief remained for us but what I might find at New Holland until I came to Timor a distance of 1200 Leagues, they all agreed to live on one ounce of Bread a day & a Jill of Water. I therefore, after recommending this promise forever to their memory, I bore away for New Holland & Timor across a Sea but little known, and in a small Boat deep

¹⁰ Tongatabu, in the south of the group.

The Open Boat Voyage.

loaded with 18 Souls, without a single Map of any kind, & nothing but my own recollection and general knowledge of the Situation of Places to direct us.—Unfortunately we lost part of our provisions; our Stock therefore only consisted of 20 lbs of Pork, 3 Bottles of Wine, 5 Quarts of Rum, 150 lbs Bread, & 28 Gallons of Water.

I steer'd to the WNW with Strong Gales & bad Weather, suffering every calamity and distress. I discovered many Islands, and at last on the 28th May the Coast of New Holland, and entered a break of the Reef in Latitude about $12^{\circ} 50' S$ & Longd $145^{\circ} 60' Et$.

I kept on in the direction of this Coast to the Northwd touching at such places as I found convenient, refreshing my people by the best means in my power. These refreshments consisted of Oysters and a few Clams; we were however greatly benefited by them and a few good nights' rest. On the 4th of June I past the North part of New Holland and Steer'd for Timor, and made it on the 12th, which was a happy sight to every one, particularly several, who perhaps could not have existed a Week or a Day longer.

I followed the direction of the Sh side of the Island, and on the 14th in the Afternoon saw the Island Rotty and West part of Timor round which I got that night and took a Malay on board to show me Coupang, where he described to me the Governor resided. On the next Morning before day I anchored under the Fort, and about 11 O'Clock I saw the Governor, who received me with great humanity & kindness—necessary directions were instantly given for our support, and perhaps a more Miserable set of Beings were never seen.

Thus happily ended, through the assistance of divine providence without Accident, a Voyage of the most extraordinary Nature that ever happened in the World, let it be taken either in its extent, duration, or so much want of the necessaries of life. . . .¹¹

I found three vessels here bound for Batavia, but as their sailing would be late I considered it to the Advantage of His Majesty's Service to purchase a Vessel to take my people to Batavia before the sailing of the Fleet for Europe in October, as no one could be hired but at a price equal to a purchase. I therefore gave publick Notice of my Intent and assisted by the Governor I got a Vessel for 1000 Rix Dollars & called her the Resource.

We have not yet our health perfectly established. Four of my people are still ill, and I have had the Misfortune to loose Mr. Nelson the Botanist whose good Conduct in the course of the whole Voyage and Manly fortitude in our late disastrous circumstances deserves this tribute to his Memory.

I have given a summary account of my proceedings to the Governor, and have requested in His Majesty's Name, that necessary Orders and directions may be given to their different settlements to detain the Ship wherever she may be found.

¹¹ Here follows the passage "The people who came in the boat . . . strength of the Pirates," quoted *ante*, p. 21.

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There is but little chance that their Lordships can receive this before I arrive myself, I therefore have not been as particular as I shall be in my letters from Batavia.—I shall sail in the morning without fail and use my utmost exertions to appear before their Lordships and Answer personally for the loss of His Majesty's Ship.

I beg leave to acquaint their Lordships that the greatest kindness and Attention has been shewn to us while here by the Second Governor, Timotheus Wanjon, whose Zeal to render Services to His Majesty's subjects has been unremitting during the Sickness of the Governor Willim Adriaan Van Este, who now is at the point of death.

The Surgeon of the Fort, a Mr. Max, has also been ever attentive to my Sick People and has daily and hourly attended them with great care.

The only other authority on the open boat voyage is the manuscript journal of John Fryer, the master. This part of the narrative criticises Bligh's conduct severely, making imputations of cowardice and accusing him of surreptitiously taking more than his share of the biscuit. But it must be remembered that Fryer had been on bad terms with Bligh for months, and, even were these statements true (which is doubtful), the fact remains that those in that boat would have had a poor chance had any one but Bligh been in command. His resolution was magnificent, and, whatever his faults may have been, he showed himself a man.

Bligh reached England on 14th March, 1790, accompanied by his servant, John Smith, and Mr. Samuel. The other survivors ¹² followed him, and on 22nd October, 1790, they and he were brought before a court-martial which assembled to inquire into the loss of the "Bounty." This case seems to have escaped the attention of previous writers, but, although the proceedings were formal, they have a bearing on the subsequent trial of the mutineers.¹

¹² Besides Norton and Nelson, the following did not return:—Elphinstone (master's mate), Linkletter and Hall (seamen), died at Batavia; Lamb, the butcher, died on the voyage home. Against the name of Thomas Ledward, the acting surgeon, the following note appears in the "Bounty's" muster: "17th Nov., 1789. Embarked on board the Rotterdam 'Welfare.' Q. What became of him?"

¹ The record is in Admiralty I., 5328 (P.R.O.). It is a copy, and has the following note on the top left-hand corner: "Obtained from Mr Greetham, D/Judge Advocate of the Fleet, and transmitted in his note of 18th May, 1831, the original minutes having been long since mislaid in the Admiralty."

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The court-martial was held on board H.M.S. "Royal William" at Spithead. The President was the Hon. Samuel Barrington, "Admiral of the Blue and Second Officer in the Command of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Portsmouth and Spithead," and the members of the Court consisted of three vice-admirals, six rear-admirals, and three captains. A copy of Bligh's Coupang letter was put in and read. Fryer then deposed that he had known nothing of the mutiny before it broke out, that he had seen Bligh being led out of his cabin by the mutineers, and that Bligh had been the last man to go into the boat.

The Court asked him: "After the mutiny did break out, did Captain Bligh and the rest of you use your best endeavours to recover her?"

To which the witness replied: "Everything in our power."

The midshipmen, Hallet and Hayward, gave similar evidence.

The Court then asked Bligh: "Have you any objection or complaint to make against any of your officers and Ship's Company now present respecting the seizing of His Majesty's Armed Vessel the 'Bounty,' under Your Command?"

Answer: "I have not other than the charge I have made against the Carpenter."²

The Court then asked the officers and men: "Have you any objection or complaint to make against Lieutenant Bligh?"

Answer: "None."

The finding of the Court was that "the said armed vessel, the 'Bounty,' was violently and forceably taken from the said Lieutenant William Bligh by the said Fletcher Christian and certain other mutineers, and did adjudge the said Lieutenant William Bligh and such of the Officers and Ship's Company as were returned to England and then present to be honorably acquitted."

The case shows that either Fryer's grievances against Bligh were unsubstantial or his moral courage inconsiderable, since he did not take the opportunity offered him by

² Bligh brought Purcell to a court-martial for having shown him insolence and disobedience on various occasions. The case was heard on the same day, by the same Court, which found the charges proved in part, and Purcell was reprimanded.

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the Court. Perhaps, having got home and being done with Bligh, he was glad enough to let matters go at that; but his attitude provides a contrast to the trenchant resolution of Bligh, whose sense of discipline was such that, having travelled for weeks through the valley of the shadow of death with his carpenter, he must needs hale him before a court-martial when he had got him safely home.

At the same time one cannot but wonder that Bligh assented to the statements of his officers that they had "used their best endeavours" to recover the ship. In fact, as will appear from the evidence given in the trial of the mutineers, no serious attempt was ever made at all, and when it is considered that it was several hours from the outbreak of the mutiny until the launch left the ship, the behaviour of the officers must appear to have been craven. Had Hallet and Hayward, the midshipmen of the watch, been attending to their duty they would have been in a position to give the alarm, and so, possibly, have prevented the whole affair, for there were faint hearts among the mutineers, and only the ease with which the keys of the arm-chest were secured brought them to, or kept them on, Christian's side. But if we are to believe Morrison's account Hayward was asleep at his duty when the mutiny broke out, and Hallet had not come up on deck—presumably he had not turned out of his hammock. Morrison's account appears to deserve credit, otherwise these two young gentlemen must have seen what was going on. In his evidence-in-chief Hayward certainly states that Christian told him "to look out, while he [Christian] went below to lash his hammock up." A few minutes later he saw Christian and the rest of the mutineers coming aft with arms in their hands. On his asking Christian the reason, he was told to "hold his tongue," and the party then went below to take Bligh, leaving one man on deck. Why, then, did not Hayward raise the alarm, or make an attempt to disarm the single sentry left on deck? And what was young Hallet doing before he heard Bligh call out "murder!"—for it is at this point that his evidence begins?

Neither of these midshipmen was kept under any restraint before they went into the boat. Nor were the boatswain, the gunner, or the carpenter; on the contrary, they moved freely about the ship. Yet neither they, nor anyone else, made

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any actual attempt to rescue Bligh or turn the tables on the mutineers, although there was never more than one sentry over the arm-chest. Such an attempt would have been hazardous, no doubt; it would have meant risking their lives; but that would have been no new thing for officers and seamen of the British Navy to do. Had they failed they would at least have done their duty; and they might quite possibly have been successful. Even considering no higher motive than that of self-preservation, their lack of initiative is extraordinary, for the prospect of being put adrift in one of the "Bounty's" boats, even before she was overcrowded, could not have been an inviting one; it might well have seemed the prelude to a peculiarly unpleasant form of death.

Still, nothing was done. There was a certain amount of talk about forming a rescue party. Morrison states that he was ready to join, and one may believe him. Bligh certainly encouraged Fryer to it, and Fryer did, apparently, ask to be allowed to remain in the ship in the hope (as he says) of being able to retake her. But when Christian insisted, he went meekly into the launch with his commander. What Bligh thought of his conduct is clear from a passage which appears in his manuscript journal (but not in the printed narratives): "The master's cabin was opposite to mine; he saw them (the mutineers) in my cabin, for our eyes met each other through his door-window. He had a pair of ship's pistols loaded, and ammunition in his cabin—a firm resolution might have made a good use of them. . . . He afterwards told me that he could find nobody to act with him; that by staying in the ship he hoped to have retaken her, and that, as to the pistols, he was flurried and surprised, that he did not recollect he had them."³

If Fryer had but acted with the decision one might have expected from Bligh, had Bligh been in Fryer's place, something might have been accomplished. As it was, there was nothing but shilly-shallying until it was too late, and eighteen able-bodied officers and seamen of His Majesty's Navy, of whom not one had been seized and bound like their commander, suffered themselves to be cast adrift in an open

³ Quoted from "The Eventful History," p. 133. *Vide* also Fryer's evidence-in-chief at the court-martial when he stated that the pistols were taken from him and were unloaded.

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boat whose gunwale was not nine inches from the water amidships, without striking a single blow either for their King's honour or for their own lives.

Morrison remarked in his journal that the officers' conduct was "dastardly beyond description," none of them attempting to prevent Christian from carrying out his plan; and added that their passive obedience surprised even Christian himself, who said, immediately after the launch had left the ship, that "something more than fear must have possessed them, or they would not have suffered themselves to be sent away in such a manner, without offering the usual resistance."⁴

Cole, the boatswain, in his evidence at the court-martial of the mutineers, stated he had seen no attempt made by any of the prisoners to put an end to the mutiny; the same might have been said of him and his companions.

And yet at this court-martial, when there was every opportunity for full investigation, Bligh, usually not one to suffer gladly the slightest dereliction of duty, said not one word; nor did any one of those admirals and captains who constituted the Court think fit to ask even one question as to what were the "best endeavours" those witnesses swore had been used. Even at the trial of the mutineers it lay with one of the prisoners (Muspratt) to level the criticism the Court might have made itself, when he stated in his defence: "The great misfortune attending this unhappy business is, that no one ever attempted to rescue the ship; it might have been done, Thompson being the only centinel over the arm-chest."

Bligh gives it as his opinion that the cause of the mutiny was the mutineers' desire to return to the allurements of Tahiti. In the circumstances that opinion was natural enough, for Bligh never seems to have realised (at least he never admitted it on paper) that his own conduct was a contributory cause. Fryer, however, did not share this view, for in his journal he says: "Christian was not particularly attached to any woman at Otaheite, nor were any of them, except Mr. Stewart and James Morrison, Boatswain's Mate, who were the only two that had their particular girls, so

⁴ Quoted from Marshall's "Royal Naval Biography," *loc. cit.*

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that from what they said I suppose they did not like their captain." While Marshall, commenting on Bligh's account of the mutiny, states that it "studiously conceals every circumstance calculated to reflect credit upon them [the ship's company] or lead to an inference that any cause of discontent existed previous to their meeting with the fair inhabitants of Otaheite, to whose fascinating endearments he so ingenuously ascribes his subsequent misfortunes."⁵

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 751.

Part V.

The Fate of the Mutineers.

Enough has been said to show that Christian was the instigator of the mutiny, and that there was no long-planned conspiracy to seize the ship. And, as a matter of fact, it was only force of circumstances that sent the mutineers back to Tahiti at all, for Christian had the wit to see that ships would probably be sent in search of them, and that Tahiti would be the first island they would make for to obtain news. Accordingly, after his companions had appointed him their captain by common consent, he took the "Bounty" to the island of Tubooai (Tubuai, in the Austral Group), which lies some 300 miles to the south of Tahiti. No Europeans had set foot upon it, but it had been put on the charts by Captain Cook. Since it was far from the track of ships, it seemed a suitable place for a settlement, provided the natives were not unfriendly. The "Bounty" anchored there on 25th May, 1789, the mutineers by that time having thrown most of the bread-fruit plants overboard and having divided amongst themselves the property of those who had been put adrift.⁶ The island did not prove so suited to their requirements as they had hoped, and after remaining a few days they decided to procure live stock and other supplies from Tahiti. This they did (Christian telling the people of Tahiti that they had fallen in with Captain Cook at Aitutaki), and reached Tubuai again on 26th June with a large number

⁶ The chief authority for the movements of the mutineers, until the "Bounty" sailed from Tahiti for the last time, is Captain Edwards' report to the Admiralty, quoted in part in "The Eventful History," and published by Sir Basil Thomson under the title of "The Voyage of the 'Pandora.'" Edwards (who was sent in search of the mutineers) had the details from some of the prisoners and from journals kept by them, particularly, as he mentioned at the trial, one kept by Peter Heywood. *Vide* also Peter Heywood's letter to his mother, written from Batavia, 20th November, 1791, and quoted in "The Eventful History," p. 177.

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of pigs, goats, fowls, and fruit, delivered to them by the friendly islanders.

They now set about building a fort, but the natives proved so hostile that they decided to abandon the idea of forming a settlement on the island. Sixteen of the party now voted for returning to live at Tahiti; some of these—for example, Churchill and Thompson, who had been prominent in the mutiny—desired nothing but to live at ease, disregarding the danger of remaining at Tahiti; others, including the midshipmen, Stewart and Heywood (who had already tried to escape), saw in a return to Tahiti their only chance of reaching their native land once more.

Then Christian, thinking that his brief spell of authority was at an end, and supposing that the others would wish to follow their companions, thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, I will carry you, and land you, wherever you please. I desire none to stay with me, but I have one favour to request, that you will grant me the ship, tie the foresail, and give me a few gallons of water, and leave me to run before the wind, and I shall land upon the first island the ship drives to. I have done such an act that I cannot stay at Otaheite. I will never live where I may be carried home to be a disgrace to my family."

Upon this, Young, one of the midshipmen, and seven others cried: "We shall never leave you, Mr. Christian, go where you will."

Accordingly it was decided that those who wished to remain at Tahiti should be landed there with a fair division of the ship's arms and stores, while Christian and his adherents should have the ship.

The "Bounty" dropped anchor in Matavai Bay for the last time on 20th September, 1789, and on the following night Christian sailed for a destination unknown to those he left behind. Before his departure he spent some time ashore with Stewart and Heywood. According to Morrison's journal, he advised them "to go off at once to any ship of war that might appear and give themselves up to the commander. 'You are both innocent,' he said. 'No harm can come to you, for you took no part in the mutiny.' He added

⁷ Edward Christian's "Appendix."

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that he alone was responsible for the act, and exonerated all, even his adherents, from so much as suggesting it.”⁸

The sixteen men who remained at Tahiti were:

George Stewart ¹	}	Midshipmen
Peter Heywood ²		
James Morrison ³		Boatswain's Mate
Joseph Coleman ³		Armourer
Charles Churchill ⁴		Master-at-Arms
Charles Norman ³		Carpenter's Mate
Thomas M'Intosh ³		Carpenter's Crew
Michael Byrn ³	}	Able Seamen
Thomas Burkitt ⁵		
Thomas Ellison ⁵		
John Millward ⁵		
William Muspratt ⁶		
Henry Hillbrant ⁷		
Richard Skinner ¹		
John Sumner ¹		
Matthew Thompson ⁷		

The eight who followed Christian were:

Edward Young ⁸		Midshipman
William Brown ⁹		Gardener
William M'Koy ¹⁰	}	Able Seamen
John Williams ⁹		
Isaac Martin ⁹		
Matthew Quintal ¹¹		
Alexander Smith ⁸		

Six native men and twelve women accompanied them.

None of the mutineers who went off in the “Bounty” was ever brought to trial, but to round off this sketch of the mutiny and its consequences a brief account of their fate may not be out of place.

⁸ Quoted from Lady Belcher, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹ Drowned in the wreck of the “Pandora.”

² Sentenced to death by court-martial and subsequently pardoned.

³ Acquitted by court-martial.

⁴ Murdered by Thomson at Tahiti.

⁵ Convicted by court-martial and hanged.

⁶ Sentenced to death by court-martial and subsequently discharged.

⁷ Murdered by natives on Tahiti.

⁸ Died on Pitcairn Island.

⁹ Murdered by natives on Pitcairn Island.

¹⁰ Committed suicide on Pitcairn Island.

¹¹ Murdered by Young and Smith on Pitcairn Island.

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Christian had been careful not to reveal his designs before leaving Tahiti; but he had on board a copy of Captain Philip Carteret's narrative of his voyage round the world in the "Swallow," during the course of which he had discovered (1767) in the South Pacific an island he had named Pitcairn's Island, after the midshipman who had first sighted it.² From Carteret's description it seemed to afford just the refuge they sought: it was far from the usual track of ships; it had vegetation and water; it was apparently uninhabited; it lacked good harbours that would tempt ships to put in.

The mutineers made for the island, but could not have found it without some difficulty, for Carteret was over three degrees out in his longitude reckoning—that is to say, he placed the island nearly 200 miles too far to the westward.³ The date they reached the island is uncertain, but, finding it uninhabited and all they had expected, they decided to stay, and, having stripped the "Bounty," they burnt and sunk her on 23rd January, 1790—partly so that she might not betray their presence to a passing ship, but still more, one may suppose, to prevent any one leaving the island to tell tales.

It is unnecessary here to recount in detail the tale of misfortunes that overtook these unhappy men. Before they reached it, lonely Pitcairn must have been a little island Eden; before they had finished with it—or it with them—it had become a sort of open-air butcher's shop, with human carcasses.

For a time all went well. They divided up the island into nine lots, built themselves houses, and began to cultivate their land. Then Fasto, Williams's native wife, fell from a cliff while she was collecting sea-birds' eggs for dinner, and was killed. After a time Williams, disliking the lot of a widower, took one of the natives' wives to console him. The natives then conspired to kill the white men, but the women betrayed them, and two of them were murdered by their own people, at the instigation of the mutineers.

After this the situation remained quiet for a time. But

² For this account of the discovery and description of the island, see Hawkesworth's "Voyages Round the World," vol. i., p. 341.

³ Carteret's reckoning was 25° 2' S., 133° 21' W. The *Times* Atlas gives 25° 5' S., 130° 14' W.

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men who have been kept in subjection are wont to be the hardest masters when they come to wield authority; and so it was with the mutineers. They treated the poor remaining natives like slaves, making them labour unceasingly, flogging them for the slightest fault, even rubbing salt into their wounds, Quintal and M'Koy being the worst offenders. The wretched natives, who came of a free stock, in time rebelled against this treatment, and on a certain day in 1793 they attacked the Europeans and killed Williams, Mills, Brown, Martin, and Christian.⁴ Quintal and M'Koy escaped to the mountains; Smith and Young were spared.

Thus in a few hours the natives became masters of the island. Their sway was short, for they soon began to quarrel over the possession of the women who had lived with the murdered men, so that within a few days not one of them remained alive, one having been killed by his fellow, another by Quintal and M'Koy, another by Young's wife, and the fourth by Young.

This left four white men to divide the women, who gave a great deal of trouble, so that for some time the mutineers went in constant fear of treacherous attacks. Then, as though there had not been trouble enough on the island, M'Koy (who had previously been employed in a Glasgow distillery) must needs produce intoxicating liquor from the ti-plant⁵ which grew upon the island; his success as a distiller proved

⁴ This is the account of Christian's death given by John Adams (Alexander Smith) to Captain Beechey. But Adams told the second mate of the "Topaz" that Christian had become insane shortly after the mutineers arrived on the island and had thrown himself off the rocks into the sea (*vide* letter from Lieut. W. Fitzmaurice, R.N., quoted in "The Eventful History," p. 284); and he told Sir Thomas Staines that Christian had fallen "a sacrifice to the jealousy of an Otaheitean man, within three or four years after their arrival on the island" (letter from Sir Thomas Staines, quoted in "The Eventful History," p. 286). There is also a tradition that he returned to Cumberland, and Captain Heywood believed that he had seen him in Plymouth one day about the years 1808 and 1809 (*op. cit.*, p. 309). Sir John Laughton, in his article on Christian in the "Dictionary of National Biography," states: "It is in a high degree probable that, whether in Captain Folger's ship in 1808, or in some more venturesome way, Christian escaped from the island and returned to England." There is no direct evidence for this belief beyond Captain Heywood's statement (which may well have been the result of mistaken identity), but it is an interesting subject for speculation, and has been developed by the present editor in his novel, "Cain's Birthday."

⁵ *Dræcæna terminalis*.



John Adams

Drawn by R. Beechey

(From "Pitcairn," by the Rev. Thos. Boyles Murray)

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his own destruction, for in 1798, in a fit of delirium induced by constant intoxication, he either fell or flung himself over a cliff and was killed. In the following year Quintal started a feud with Young and Smith (women were again the cause), and was killed by them in self-defence.

“And then,” as the old rhyme has it, “there were two.” Young died of asthma in 1800, leaving Smith the sole survivor of the fifteen males who had landed on the island ten years previously, with the women and a number of young children, the first-born of whom was Christian’s son, named Thursday October. Smith turned religious, having been converted, according to his own account, by a dream, and brought up the growing community in the light of the strictest Christian principles.⁶

Not the least extraordinary part of the story is that the settlement on Pitcairn Island remained a secret until 1808, when Captain Mayhew Folger, of the American ship “Topaz,” of Boston, putting in to the island with the hope of securing seal skins for the China market, discovered the solution of the mystery which had puzzled the Admiralty and the public in England for so long. Folger communicated the news of his discovery to the British authorities,⁷ but no other ships reached Pitcairn Island until the visit of the “Briton” (Captain Sir Thomas Staines) and the “Tagus” (Captain Pipon) in 1814. By that time Smith had changed his name to John Adams,⁸ and in his official despatch Sir Thomas Staines stated that his “exemplary conduct, and fatherly care of the whole of the little colony, could not but command admiration. The pious manner in which all those born on the island have been reared, the correct sense of religion which has been instilled into their young minds by this old man, has given him the pre-eminence over the whole of them, to

⁶ A detailed account of the early history of the settlement is given by Capt. F. W. Beechey (who had it from Smith) in his “Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific.”

⁷ The original document is in the Public Record Office.

⁸ Amasa Delano, who deals with the story of Pitcairn Island in his “Narrative of Voyages and Travels,” chap. v. and vi., suggests that conversation with Folger may have caused Smith to take the name of John Adams, after the New England President of the United States. Certainly he had no motive in concealing his identity. Perhaps the idea behind the change of name was the object of sloughing a personality and a past of which he was ashamed.

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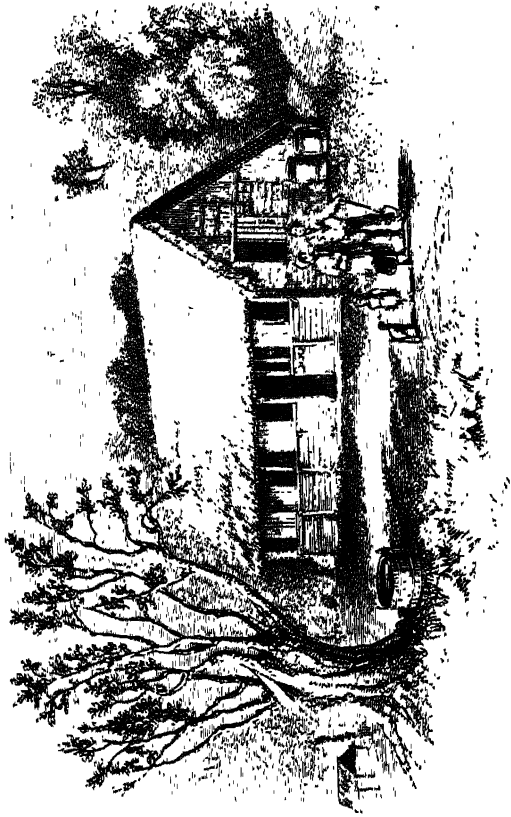
whom they look up as the father of one and the whole family.”⁹ The conduct of Adams and the happy state of his small community made so deep an impression on Sir Thomas Staines that instead of arresting him and carrying him to England to stand his trial, as duty must have prompted him to do, he allowed him to remain where he was, as the shepherd of his small flock. Although there is no doubt that Adams was deeply implicated in the mutiny (in spite of his natural protestations to the contrary), few will question Sir Thomas’s merciful decision. The Admiralty did not, and it was not until 1825 that another British man-of-war, the “Blossom” (Captain F. W. Beechey) visited the island. Adams died four years later.¹

Although none of the mutineers who sought refuge on Pitcairn Island was ever tried for his crimes, those who remained at Tahiti were not so fortunate. For eighteen months after the “Bounty” sailed away they remained on the island undisturbed, during which time Churchill, the master-at-arms, was murdered by Thompson, and Thompson was killed in turn by Churchill’s native friends. Some of the others, led by Morrison, built a schooner with the intention of trying to reach Batavia. Six of them actually put to sea, but bad weather, lack of adequate stores for so long a voyage, and, still more, lack of an efficient navigator, forced them to turn back.

Then, at dawn on the morning of 23rd March, 1791, young Peter Heywood saw a ship working into Matavai Bay. It was the sight he had been longing to see for many months. He hastened to tell Coleman, who straightway put out to the ship and was taken on board. Heywood and Stewart followed

⁹ Quoted from “The Eventful History,” p. 286. The original is in the Public Record Office. A description of this visit is given by Capt. Pipon, quoted in “The Eventful History,” pp. 287-300, and by Lieut. J. Shillibeer, R.N., in “A Narrative of the ‘Briton’s’ Voyage to Pitcairn Island.” The community then numbered 46.

¹ Descendants of the mutineers still live upon Pitcairn Island, which for administrative purposes is under the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. The whole community was moved to Norfolk Island in 1856, but in 1864 six home-sick families returned. Those interested in the development of the settlement from its earliest days will find much information in Rev. T. B. Murray’s “Pitcairn” and Sir Charles Lucas’s “Pitcairn Island Register Book.” Among the “Bounty” relics in the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution are Adams’s book of prayers and devotions and a portion of his queue.



John Adams's House, built by himself
(From "Pitcairn," by the Rev. Thos. Boyles Murray)

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him, but their reception was very different from what, in their innocence, they had imagined it would be. They found the frigate was H.M.S. "Pandora" (Captain Edward Edwards), which had been sent out to search for the mutineers. On board was their old shipmate, Thomas Hayward, now a lieutenant, but he met them coldly, and after a brief interview Captain Edwards had them put in irons and confined.²

Michael Byrn, the "Bounty's" blind fiddler, and Richard Skinner came on board later, and details of the arrest of the remaining ten of the "Bounty's" people will be found in the evidence of Captain Edwards and Lieuts. Hayward, Larkin, and Corner at the court-martial. Why these men surrendered with little or no resistance is difficult to understand, for all except Morrison, Coleman, M'Intosh, and Norman must have known that they had small hope of escaping the gallows when they reached England.

Edwards confined the prisoners in the notorious "'Pandora's' Box," which he describes as a "round house which I built at the after part of the quarter-deck for their more effectual security, airy and healthy situation."³ George Hamilton, the "Pandora's" surgeon, described it as "the most desirable place in the ship,"⁴ but Heywood, in the letter to his mother already mentioned, stated that the prisoners were kept with both hands and both legs in irons, and never allowed out even for exercise, but "obliged to eat, drink, sleep, and obey the calls of nature" in this den, which was no more than 11 feet long and 18 wide. All one can say is that they were possibly better off on deck than they would have been had they been confined below.

On 8th May the "Pandora" sailed from Tahiti, and Edwards spent some three months searching for the remainder of the mutineers, but without success. As a glance at his course on the map will show, had he but sailed due west after passing Ducie Island he would have sighted Pitcairn (whose main peak can be seen for a distance of nearly 50 miles at sea), and might have taken Christian and his companions before ever reaching Tahiti.

² *Vide* Peter Heywood's letters to his sister and mother, quoted in "The Eventful History," pp. 145, 182.

³ "Voyage of H.M.S. 'Pandora,'" p. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

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On the evening of 28th August, off what is now the northern coast of Queensland, when preparing to enter Endeavour Straits, the "Pandora" struck and sank shortly after daybreak next morning. Of the ship's company 89 were saved and 31 drowned, and of the 14 prisoners 4 were drowned—Stewart, Hillbrant, Skinner, and Sumner.

In the matter of " ' Pandora's ' Box " some allowance may be made for Captain Edwards. He was justified in presuming his prisoners all equally guilty, and he could afford to take no risks—though there would have been no danger in allowing the wretched men out for normal exercise. At the time of the wreck, however, his behaviour was atrocious, and cannot be condoned. In his reports he does not mention the prisoners, save to record the number lost. From a statement said to have been written by Lieutenant Corner, of the "Pandora," we know that during the night Coleman, Norman, and M'Intosh were let out of irons and set to work at the pumps. The remaining prisoners were kept close in the box, with two additional sentries over them, who had orders to fire should any attempt to get rid of their fetters. Even when the ship was in the act of sinking Captain Edwards gave no orders for their release, in spite of their entreaties, and had it not been for the master-at-arms letting the keys of the irons fall through the scuttle of the box before he left the ship, and for the assistance of the boatswain's mate, they would undoubtedly all have gone down with the ship. Even so, there was not time for every one to get free—those who were drowned went down in irons, and even Morrison was picked up with handcuffs still upon his wrists.⁵

The survivors landed on a sandbank three or four miles from the scene of the wreck, and, continuing their voyage in the four ship's boats, eventually reached Timor after a voyage of sixteen days—a voyage which in hardships, if not in length, almost equalled Bligh's.

On 19th June, 1792, Captain Edwards reached Spithead with his prisoners, who were transferred in custody to H.M.S. "Hector," where they awaited trial. Edwards, together with

⁵ *Vide* "The Eventful History," pp. 166-8. Hamilton, the surgeon, says that orders were given for the prisoners to be let out of irons, but Heywood's account (in the letter mentioned) corroborates Corner's.

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his surviving officers and ship's company, appeared before a court-martial, held on board H.M.S. "Hector" in Portsmouth Harbour, on 10th September, to answer for the loss of his ship. The constitution of the Court (with Lord Hood as President) was the same as that which tried the "Bounty" prisoners.⁶ Edwards delivered a "paper writing," which contained his narrative of the loss of the ship, and also put in the following interesting document, written and signed before (or directly after) the ship was abandoned:

Pandora 20 Aug. 1791.

It being the unanimous opinion of the 3 Lieuts and Master that nothing further could be done for the preservation of H.M.'s Ship it was concluded as next expedient to endeavour to save the lives of the Crew.

To the truth whereof we this day put our hands.

GEO. HAMILTON, Surgeon.

G. I. BENTHAM, Purser.

Lieuts. Larkin and Corner and other officers swore to the truth of their captain's statement and had no objections to make against him, and the Court found "That the Loss of His Majesty's Ship 'Pandora' was occasioned by her striking upon a Reef near the Entrance of Endeavour Straits and soon afterwards was sinking and that her Loss was not in any respect owing to mismanagement or a want of proper Attention to her Safety of the said Captain Edward Edwards, her Officers and Company, but that the said Captain Edward Edwards, his Officers and Company did every thing that was possible to be done for the Preservation of His Majesty's Ship 'Pandora' and for the good of His Majesty's Service, and the said Captain Edward Edwards and the other Officers and Company of His Majesty's said Ship 'Pandora' are hereby honorably acquitted."

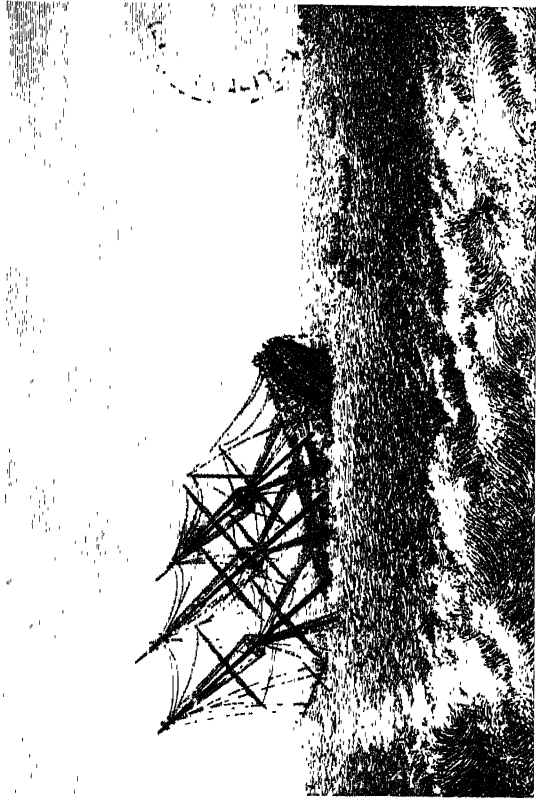
That no question as to the treatment of the prisoners was raised by any of Edwards's officers is perhaps not to be wondered at: it was not their concern. But since Edwards's mission had been to bring back to England as many of the "Bounty" mutineers as he could secure, it is a matter of some surprise that the Court put no question to him as to the measures he had taken to preserve their lives.

⁶ The minutes of the case are in the Public Record Office, Admiralty I., 5330.

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Nor is it less strange that no questions were put as to the high number of deaths among the "Pandora's" company. The ship did not sink for eleven hours after she had struck; for several hours before she sank Edwards knew she was doomed, and she had four boats. Yet, out of the total complement of 110, only 89 were saved, and—more extraordinary still—although he had several hours in which to stock his boats, the total provisions saved, if we are to believe the account given by Peter Heywood to his mother (borne out by the short allowance on which the survivors had to exist), consisted of no more than "two or three bags of bread, two or three beakers of water, and a little wine."

When these facts are considered, it is difficult to feel certain that Edwards did indeed do everything that was possible for the good of His Majesty's Service, or that he deserved the whitewashing he received.



H.M. Ship "Pandora" in the act of foundering

From a sketch by Peter Heywood

(From "The Eventful History of the Mutiny of the 'Bounty,' 1838")

Part VI.

The Court-Martial.

Two days after the "Pandora" court-martial, on 12th September, 1792, the trial of the ten surviving prisoners began, on board H.M.S. "Duke" in Portsmouth Harbour. The charge against all the prisoners was "for mutinously running away with the said armed vessel [the 'Bounty'] and deserting from His Majesty's Service." Such an act is now governed by section 10 of the Naval Discipline Act, 1866, which makes death, to all taking part, the punishment for mutiny with violence; while section 11 limits the death penalty to the ringleader where the mutiny is without violence. It would appear that the mutineers might also have been charged with piracy, for the acts of the mutineers came within the definition of piracy at common law given by Sir Charles Hedges, judge of the High Court of Admiralty, in his charge to the Grand Jury on 31st October, 1696: "Now piracy is only a sea-term for robbery, piracy being a robbery committed within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty. If any man be assaulted within that jurisdiction, and his ship or goods violently taken away without legal authority, this is robbery and piracy. If the mariners of any ship shall violently dispossess the master and afterwards carry away the ship itself or any of the goods or tackle apparel or furniture with a felonious intention, in any place where the lord Admiral hath or pretends to have jurisdiction, this is also robbery and piracy."⁷

It may be of interest to give the description of each man, taken from the list drawn up by Bligh after his arrival at Coupang, "from the recollection of the persons with me, who were best acquainted with their marks":⁸

⁷ At the Trial of Joseph Dawson and others for felony and piracy, "XIII. State Trials," p. 454.

⁸ See *ante*, p. 25. The list included all those who remained in the "Bounty." The original is in Admiralty I., 5328 (P.R.O.). It is quoted in full in Bligh's "Answers to Certain Assertions," and by Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-4.

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Peter Heywood, midshipman, aged seventeen years, 5 feet 7 inches high, fair complexion, light-brown hair, very much tattooed. On his right leg tattooed the three legs of the Isle of Man, as upon the coin. At this time he has not done growing.⁹

James Morrison, boatswain's mate, aged twenty-eight years, 5 feet 8 inches high, sallow complexion, long black hair, slender make, has lost the use of the upper joint of the forefinger of the right hand, tattooed with a star under his left breast, and a garter round his left leg, with the motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. Has been wounded in one of his arms with a musket-ball.

Charles Norman, carpenter's mate, aged twenty-six years, 5 feet 9 inches high, fair complexion, light brown hair, slender made, is pitted with the smallpox, and has a remarkable motion with his head and eyes.

Joseph Coleman, armourer, aged forty years, 5 feet 6 inches high, fair complexion, grey hair, strong made, a heart tattooed on one of his arms.

Thomas Ellison, able seaman, aged 17 years, 5 feet 3 inches high, fair complexion, dark hair, strong made, has got his name tattooed on his right arm, and dated 25th October, 1788.

Thomas M'Intosh, carpenter's crew, aged twenty-eight years, 5 feet 6 inches high, fair complexion, light-brown hair, slender made, is pitted with the smallpox, and is tattooed.

Thomas Burkitt, able seaman, aged twenty-six years, 5 feet 9 inches high, fair complexion, very much pitted with the smallpox, brown hair, slender made, very much tattooed.

John Millward, able seaman, aged twenty-two years, 5 feet 5 inches high, brown complexion, dark hair, strong made, very much tattooed in different parts of the body.

Michael Byrn, able seaman, aged twenty-eight years, 5 feet 6 inches high, fair complexion, short fair hair, slender made, is almost blind, plays the violin.

⁹ Heywood was the son of Peter John Heywood, a Deemster of the Isle of Man. Mrs. Bligh came of a Manx family (she was a daughter of William Beltham, the first Collector of Customs after the Duke of Atholl had surrendered his manorial rights to the British Government); Bligh had got to know the Heywoods during a visit to the island, and on being appointed to the "Bounty" wrote to Deemster Heywood offering to take his son, who was then at school. (Lady Belcher, *op. cit.*, p. 11.)

The Court-Martial.

William Muspratt, commander's steward, aged thirty years, 5 feet 6 inches high, dark complexion, brown hair, slender made, a very strong black beard, with scars under his chin; is tattooed in several places of his body.

The case against Peter Heywood.—It will be noticed that in the above list Peter Heywood's age is given as seventeen; this is correct. In his own defence Heywood states that he was sixteen at the time of the mutiny; this is also correct, though he was only five weeks short of seventeen. Most writers on the subject of the mutiny have laid stress on Heywood's extreme youth, and the fact that they make him a year younger than he really was is an interesting example of how historians and biographers may fall into error by repeating statements without verification. Marshall, in the article on Heywood in his "Royal Naval Biography," states that he was born on 6th June, 1773. Lady Belcher repeats this, and so is a year out whenever she refers to Heywood's age, which she frequently does; and Sir John Laughton, in his article on Heywood in the "Dictionary of National Biography," reproduces the error once more. Whereas Heywood's birth certificate, which was put in by the defence as evidence, clearly shows the date of his birth as 6th June, 1772. He was, therefore, fifteen when he joined the "Bounty" (not "under fifteen years of age," as Sir John Barrow states),¹ nearly seventeen at the time of the mutiny, and twenty at the time of the trial.

The chief witnesses called by the prosecution were Fryer (the master), Cole (the boatswain), Peckover (the gunner), Purcell (the carpenter), Lieut. Hayward, and Lieut. Hallet. At the time of the trial Bligh was away on his second expedition to procure bread-fruit from Tahiti, so could not be called, and the prisoners had no opportunity to cross-examine him on the Coupang letter and the extract from his journal which were put in and read. Normally a documentary record of facts is not admissible if the writer is alive, not being the best evidence; but in this case the letter and journal could be admitted as evidence of the truth of the statements contained in them on the ground that both were

¹ *Op. cit.*, 134.

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public documents. These were, and are still, admissible, on the theory that where it is the duty of a public official to record facts for the information of the Crown, or all the King's subjects, there is a presumption that his record is true when so made.² In Heywood's case, at least, this must have been a matter for congratulation by the defence, since no mention is made of Heywood in the letter (nor, presumably, in the journal, which probably followed Bligh's other accounts) except in the list of those who remained in the ship. It is true that his note against the names of Coleman, Norman, and M'Intosh—"Detained against their consent"—was prejudicial to those whom he passed over without comment; but had he been present at the trial there is reason to suppose that his spoken evidence would have been far more unfavourable to Heywood, for in a letter to Colonel Holwell (Heywood's uncle), dated 26th March, 1790 (shortly after his return to England), he states: "With much concern I inform you that your nephew, Peter Heywood, is among the mutineers. His ingratitude to me is of the blackest dye . . . and it will give me much pleasure to hear that his friends can bear the loss of him without much concern." A few days later Bligh wrote to Mrs. Heywood (who, poor lady, had sought reassuring news from Bligh): "His baseness is beyond all description."³ It would be hard to match the venom of these communications, written as they were to persons already in apprehension and distress.

Bligh, then, had made up his mind that Heywood was of Christian's party; it was fortunate that all the witnesses who gave evidence did not share that view. Fryer deposed that he had not seen Heywood on the morning of the mutiny; nor had Peckover, who said, however, in reply to a question by the Court, that he had every reason to suppose that those who remained in the ship were of Christian's party, except Coleman, Norman, M'Intosh, and Byrn; but when cross-examined by Heywood on this point he corrected himself and stated that he did not mean to include him as a mutineer.

Cole did not see him armed, and considered him to have been on Bligh's side. He thought all along he was intending to come away. In his evidence-in-chief he said: "I heard

² *Vide* Powell on Evidence, 9th edn., p. 271.

³ Quoted from "The Eventful History," p. 135.

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Churchill call out to keep somebody below, but who it was I do not know." He repeated this statement when examined by the Court, but when asked, "Do you think he meant Heywood?" he replied, "I have no reason to think any other," and re-asserted his opinion on this point under cross-examination. Purcell substantiated this point, which was of vital importance to Heywood, and did not consider Heywood as a mutineer, and, although he had seen him with his hand on a cutlass for a moment, he did not look upon him as a person armed.

Here were four witnesses, not one of whom had said a word definitely to implicate Heywood, and had said much to exonerate him. With Hayward's evidence, however, the case took a different aspect. Hayward said he had seen Heywood in his berth, and had told him to go with the boat, and stated: "I should rather suppose, after my having told him to go into the boat and he not joining us to be on the side of the mutineers:" this from the young gentleman who (if we may believe Heywood) begged Christian to let him stay in the ship, and actually shed tears when permission was refused.⁴

Hallet ("that little wretch Hallet," as Heywood's sister Nussy called him in her indignation)⁵ saw Heywood only once on the day of the mutiny, and not under arms; but he made the following damning statement: "Captain Bligh said something to him, but what I did not hear; upon which he laughed and turned away," and, although the defence attempted to break the statement down, it must have had an unfortunate effect on the Court's mind.

Mrs. Heywood had proposed that two eminent counsel should be retained to conduct her son's defence, but his uncle, Commodore Pasley, knowing the prejudice members of a naval court-martial had against lawyers, and bearing in mind that counsel would not be allowed to address the Court, had negatived this proposal, but had secured the good offices of his friend, Mr. Aaron Graham, who had had much experience as judge advocate at naval courts-martial; the professional services of a Mr. Const were also retained.⁶

⁴ *Vide* Heywood's letter to his mother, quoted in "The Eventful History," p. 179, and his defence.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 203.

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In the long written statement which was read out in Court on Heywood's behalf, at least two separate lines of defence will be observed. On the one hand he pleads his youth and confusion. "I was surprised into my error [of not trying to go into the boat] by a mixture of ignorance, apprehension, and the prevalence of example, and alarmed as I was from my sleep there was little opportunity and less time for better recollection." But he had plenty of time to recover from his surprise. Then, again: "Surely I shall not be deemed criminal that I hesitated at getting into a boat whose gunnel when she left the ship was not quite eight inches above the surface of the water?" But how did he know this? He was not on deck when the boat left the ship, and when he went below there could have been few, if any, in her, for Hayward was one of the first to leave the "Bounty." The other line of defence is that he had gone below to collect some things with the intention of accompanying Bligh, but had been kept below by force until after the launch was far astern. There seems no doubt that this was the truth; two witnesses for the prosecution allowed it, and one cannot but feel that the defence would have been wiser to have concentrated on this line rather than confuse it with rambling and sentimental arguments. Once he could have convinced the Court that he had been detained by force, it is difficult to see how he could have been convicted, for he had a better case even than Coleman, Norman, and M'Intosh, who, although ordered to stay, had no sentry over them.

What probably led the Court to convict him was the unfortunate fact that he had made no definite appeal to Bligh, or to Christian in Bligh's hearing. The Court obviously felt there was no alternative but to sentence him, and there was no sentence they could pass but death; yet the circumstances weighed with them sufficiently to recommend him to mercy, and by the King's Warrant, dated 24th October, he was granted a free pardon, and subsequently had a distinguished career in the Navy.⁷

The case against Morrison.—Fryer's evidence as to Morrison, though somewhat doubtful, was favourable on the whole;

⁷ The efforts of Mr. Heywood's relatives and friends on his behalf, together with the correspondence on the subject, are to be found in "The Eventful History," chap. vii.

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and Fryer never saw Morrison under arms. Cole had no reason to suppose he was concerned in the mutiny, but did not hear him express any desire to go in the launch, nor, to Cole's knowledge, was he prevented. Purcell did not see him armed, and did not consider him to be one of the mutineers. Morrison had desired him "to take note in the face of the whole of the mutineers that he was prevented from going into the boat"; but this witness admitted that he had not seen anyone prevent him.

Peckover did not see him at all. Hayward, having stated that he had not seen him under arms, later expressed himself doubtful on this point; he had seen him helping to clear the yams out of the boats, and gave it as his opinion that Morrison was thus helping the mutineers: "he perhaps might wish to get the boats out to get quit of us as soon as possible," later saying that his opinion was founded on the fact that Morrison's countenance was "rejoiced," while that of M'Intosh, employed on the same business, was "depressed."

Hallet saw him under arms, but not until the boat was veered astern, when he was looking over the taffrail, and called out in a jeering manner: "If my friends enquire after me, tell them I am somewhere in the South Seas." Cole corroborated the latter part of this evidence, but Fryer stated that he had neither heard the remark nor seen him armed on the taffrail. Corner deposed that he had surrendered voluntarily at Tahiti.

Morrison made the best defence he could—there is no doubt that he was a bit of a sea-lawyer—but he had a more formidable case to answer than Heywood had, and, although he was certainly not so deeply implicated as some of Christian's adherents, it is scarcely surprising that the Court convicted him. He, too, was recommended to mercy, however, and received a full pardon. He saw further service in the Navy, and went down in the "Blenheim" with Sir Thomas Troubridge.

The case against Norman, Coleman, and M'Intosh.—The innocence of these three prisoners was never in serious doubt. As already shown, Bligh had stated in his Coupang despatch that they had been "detained against their inclination,"¹

¹ The same remark is entered against their names in the "Bounty's" muster.

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and the evidence of the witnesses supported this. Corner deposed that they had surrendered voluntarily at Tahiti. All three were acquitted.

The case against Byrn.—Being almost blind, it was obvious this man could have taken no active part in the mutiny: the wonder is that he was ever taken in the ship and rated as an able seaman; but he was popular on account of his fiddling, and that was the reason the mutineers kept him in the ship. He, too, was acquitted.

The case against Ellison.—Most of the witnesses testified to having seen Ellison under arms, and Hayward swore that he had left the helm, armed himself, and run towards Bligh, crying: "Damn him, I'll be sentry over him." He was convicted, and the court did not see fit to take his youth into consideration and include him in the recommendation to mercy.

The case against Burkitt.—By all accounts this man was one of the most active in the mutiny, and all the witnesses testified to having seen him under arms. Bligh does not mention him specifically in the Coupang letter, but in his despatch of 15th October, 1789, and in his printed "Narrative" he states that Burkitt was one of those who entered the cabin, and it is to be presumed that this statement was repeated in the extract from the journal which was put in. Moreover, Hayward had seen him going below with Christian to Bligh's cabin, and Fryer stated that he was in the cabin when Bligh was seized, so that his defence that he was forced to take up arms "by threats of immediate death" did not avail him, and he was convicted.

The case against Millward.—Fryer deposed that Millward was one of the sentries placed over him and appeared to be friendly, but that when he made overtures to the man he had cocked his musket at him; both Hayward and Hallet saw him under arms. Millward's defence was that he was dragged into the affair by Churchill (with whom he had previously deserted), and had a musket forced on him. Cole said he had heard Churchill order him to take a musket, but had not

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heard him make any objections. The case against him was too strong to admit of any doubt, and he, too, was convicted.

The case against Muspratt.—The evidence against this man was not so strong as that against Ellison, Burkitt, and Millward. Fryer had not seen him at all; nor Hallet. Peckover and Purcell had seen him, but not under arms. But Hayward had seen him take up a musket ten minutes after the mutiny began, and Cole had seen him armed with a musket abaft the fore-hatchway. Muspratt admitted having taken up a musket that one of the mutineers had laid down, but maintained that he had done so with the object of helping Fryer, and said that he had waited for Fryer to make his effort to regain the ship, Millward having told him that an attempt was intended. The defence was ingenious; one cannot say it was untrue, but, unfortunately for Muspratt, he did not allow Fryer to see his eagerness to help, and when surveying the probabilities one must remember that Muspratt had been one of those who had deserted at Tahiti and received 48 lashes, and in consequence was not likely to be particularly well disposed to his commander; this, however, is but surmise.

Marshall, in his "Royal Naval Biography," has the following comment: "John Millward and William Muspratt took up arms for no other purpose but to rescue the ship. This, however, they had no means of proving; and, as the circumstances of their having been armed was sworn to by the witnesses against them, the Court, as in Morrison's case, could do no otherwise than find them guilty."² This remark scarcely displays a judicial mind, in view of Fryer's evidence, which Millward never broke down; and when one reviews all the facts one is left with the feeling that the best proof these men could have given of their desire to rescue the ship would have been to have made some overt move to do so.

Muspratt was convicted, but he was defended by an astute lawyer, Mr. Stephen Barney, and, while he could not convince the Court of his innocence, he escaped the gallows on a technical point. When called upon for his defence he had pointed out that it was the custom "in the Criminal Courts of justice on the land, when a number of prisoners are tried

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 751.

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for the same facts and the evidence does not materially affect some, for the Court to acquit those, that the other prisoners may have an opportunity to call them if advised to do so," and he asked leave to call Byrn and Norman. The Court declined to give sentence on any particular prisoner until the defence of all had been delivered; and after his sentence Muspratt protested against having been debarred from calling these men. His sentence was respited, until, as his advocate, Mr. Barney, states in the version of the "Minutes of the Court-Martial" he published, "the opinion of the twelve judges³ could be obtained upon the question. They decided that the evidence ought to have been received, and in consequence Muspratt was discharged."

The process adopted for setting aside the conviction is not quite clear. The procedure of courts-martial may be brought up for the consideration of the Courts of law by the legal process of a writ of prohibition, or a writ of certiorari. By the former the Court has power to prohibit court-martial proceedings "where something is done contrary to the general law of the land, or manifestly out of the jurisdiction of the Court—for mere irregularities . . . where the court-martial has jurisdiction . . . afford no ground for a prohibition." In the latter, the Court of King's Bench will interfere where the court-martial has acted without jurisdiction, or has exceeded its jurisdiction.⁴ It seems probable that the process adopted was the former.

The point on which Muspratt secured his discharge is an interesting one. Nowadays, by the Criminal Evidence Act of 1898, a co-defendant may be sworn as a witness for the defence, and not merely on his own behalf. Previously, at common law persons jointly indicted or tried were not competent or compellable witnesses on their own behalf, or for or against each other, until they had been convicted or acquitted, or the indictment as against the proposed witness put an end to by a *nolle prosequi*. In 1851 evidence tendered on a criminal charge without any such steps was held rightly rejected, though the question was theretofore not free from doubt.⁵ So there was substance in Muspratt's point, and it

³ Presumably of the King's Bench.

⁴ Stephens' "Manual of Naval Law," pp. 263 *et seq.*

⁵ Russell on Crimes, 8th edn., p. 2113.

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was not in accordance with recognised practice to render the evidence he desired to call inadmissible. Had the Court adjourned the consideration of Muspratt's case till the case against Byrn and Norman was concluded, these men would then have been available to give evidence for him.

On 29th October, 1792, the three condemned men were publicly executed on board H.M.S. "Brunswick," in the presence of a party of seamen from each ship in the harbour. They are said to have behaved with penitence, and, according to a note by Mr. Barney in the work referred to above, Millward made the following address to his fellow-sailors: "Brother Seamen, you see before you three lusty young fellows about to suffer a shameful death for the dreadful crime of mutiny and desertion. Take warning by our example never to desert your officers, and should they behave ill to you, remember it is not their cause, it is the cause of your country you are bound to support." This is a little hard to swallow: it sounds much more like a piece of disciplinary propaganda on the part of the naval authorities at a period when the conduct of the service was not high; but Mr. Barney records the statement, and Captain Hamond of the "Brunswick" was the authority.⁶

I have referred to Mr. Barney's "version" of the minutes of the court-martial proceedings, because a comparison between that work and the official minutes shows that the former contains a great deal of free paraphrase on the part of those responsible for its publication. It also contains numerous errors, the most serious of which is that the trial is stated to have begun on 12th April, 1792—whereas in reality the date was 12th September. Nor is this all; for at the end of the work there is printed the correction, "Page 1, line 1, for *April* read *August*." The evidence does not go beyond that given by Lieut. Corner, and none of the defence is printed, but Bligh's Coupang letter, of which no copy is attached to the original minutes, is given.

Published with the minutes is Edward Christian's "Appendix," already referred to, which contained "a full

⁶ Something very like this speech is used by Marryat in "The King's Own" when a man is about to be hanged for mutiny. Marryat may have taken it from this incident, or it may have been the result of personal experience.

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Account of the real Causes and Circumstances of that unhappy Transaction [the Mutiny] the most material of which have hitherto been withheld from the Public." ⁷

This is a very scarce pamphlet and there is no copy of it in the British Museum, but the Library of the Royal United Service Institution is fortunate enough to have one. A copy was recently listed by Messrs. Francis Edwards for £60, and went, I believe, to Australia. Since, therefore, the work is not available to the ordinary reader, it is worth giving some details of its contents.

It is prefaced by the following "Advertisement":

The following Minutes of the Trial of the Mutineers of the Bounty were taken by myself and my clerks, being employed to give Assistance before the Court-Martial, to William Musprat, one of the Prisoners. They were not continued beyond the Evidence for the Prosecution, nor do they comprize the whole of the Evidence respecting the Capture of all the different Prisoners at Otaheite. They were not intended for Publication. Repeated Assurances have been given, that an impartial State of all the Circumstances attending that unhappy Mutiny, as well as a complete Trial of the Prisoners, would be published. The anxious Relations of the unfortunate Parties in that Mutiny, worn out with Expectation of that Publication, have repeatedly solicited my consent to publish my Minutes, and as such Publication may in some degree alleviate their Distress, I cannot think myself justified in withholding such Consent, and hope this will be a sufficient Apology for my Conduct. I affirm, that as far as those Minutes go, they contain a just State of the Evidence given at the Court-Martial.

STEPH BARNEY.

Portsmouth,

May 1st, 1794.

Edward Christian's share in the matter is made clear by the following letter:—

To Stephen Barney, Esquire, Portsmouth.

Gray's-Inn Square, May 15th, 1794.

Sir,

I Assure you I regard the publication of your Minutes of the Court-Martial as a very great favour done to myself, and I am the more sensible of the obligation from being convinced that they were not originally taken with an intent to publish. But they appear to be so full and satisfactory, that, from your further kindness in

⁷ Edward Christian, Fletcher Christian's brother, was a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Downing Professor of Laws. At this time he was Professor of Laws of England in the East India College, Hertfordshire, and subsequently became Chief Justice of Ely. He was also the editor of "Blackstone's Commentaries."

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permitting the extraordinary information which I have collected to be annexed as an Appendix, the Publication, I trust, will at length be possessed of a complete knowledge of the real causes and circumstances of that most melancholy event, the Mutiny on board the Bounty. It is unnecessary for me to add, that I alone am responsible for the authenticity, or rather accuracy, of the information contained in the Appendix, as far at least as it has been obtained by me, in the manner and from the persons described therein.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Yr most obedient

and obliged servant,

EDWARD CHRISTIAN.

“ All the circumstances stated here,” begins the main argument, “ could not be produced at the trial, as the Court confined the witnesses, as much as possible, to the question, ‘ Who were actually engaged in the mutiny? ’ for that being a crime which will admit of no legal justification, the relation of previous circumstances could not be material or legal evidence; yet what passed at the time of the mutiny was so immediately connected with what had happened previously in the ship, that in the testimony of most of the witnesses there will be found an allusion to, or confirmation of, what is here advanced. Some time after the trial of the mutineers, the writer of this Appendix received such information as surprized him greatly, and in consequence of which, he resolved to make every possible enquiry into this unhappy affair.”

The writer goes on to say that the circumstances he relates were “ collected from many interviews and conversations ” with Fryer, Hayward, Peckover, Purcell, John Smith, Lebogue, Coleman, M‘Intosh, Heywood, and Muspratt, and from letters received on the subject from Morrison. The gentlemen who were present at the interviews referred to included the Rev. Dr. Fisher, Canon of Windsor, and the Rev. Mr. Antrobus, Chaplain to the Bishop of London. The writer’s informants declared :

“ That Captain Bligh used to call the officers ‘ scoundrels, damned rascals, hounds, hell-hounds, beasts, and infamous wretches ’ ; that he frequently threatened them, that when the ship arrived at Endeavour Straits, ‘ he would kill one half of the people, make the officers jump overboard, and would make them eat grass like cows,’ and that Christian, and

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Stewart, another midshipman, were as much afraid of Endeavour Straits, as any child is of a rod."

The "Appendix" then develops into a lengthy apologia for Christian, some points of which have already been quoted. A considerable amount of information not found elsewhere is given, relating both to events preceding and subsequent to the mutiny, but, unfortunately, the identity of the informants is not specifically revealed, which is the more singular when one remembers that the "Appendix" was the work of a professor of laws; nor does the author mention who were responsible for the following "unpremeditated expressions" concerning Fletcher Christian:

"He was a gentleman; a brave man; and every officer and seaman on board the ship would have gone through fire and water to have served him."—"I would still wade up to the arm-pits in blood to serve him."—"As much as I have lost and suffered by him, if he could be restored to his country, I should be the first to go without wages in search of him."—"Every body under his command did their duty at a look from Mr. Christian."—"Mr. Christian was always good-natured, I never heard him say 'Damn you,' to any man on board the ship."

The work concludes with the following peroration:—

The writer of this Appendix would think himself an accomplice in the crime which has been committed, if he designedly should give the slightest shade to any word or fact differing from its true and just representation; and lest he should be supposed to be actuated by a vindictive spirit, he has studiously forbore to make more comment than were absolutely necessary upon any statement which he has been obliged to bring forward. He has felt it a duty to himself, to the connexions of all the unfortunate men and to society, to collect and lay before the Public these extraordinary circumstances.

The sufferings of Captain Bligh and his companions in the boat, however severe they may have been, are perhaps but a small portion of the torments occasioned by this dreadful event, and whilst these prove the melancoly and extensive consequences of the crime of mutiny, the crime itself in this instance may afford an awful lesson to the Navy, and to mankind, that there is a degree of pressure, beyond which the best formed and principled mind must either break or recoil. And though public justice and the public safety can allow no vindication of any species of mutiny, yet reason and humanity will distinguish the sudden and unpremeditated act of desperation and phrenzy, from the foul and deliberate contempt of every religious

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duty and honourable sentiment; and will deplore the uncertainty of human prospects, when they reflect that a young man is condemned to perpetual infamy, who, if he had served on board any other ship, or had perhaps been absent from the *Bounty* for a single day, or one ill-fated hour, might still have been an honour to his country, and a glory and comfort to his friends.

This publication apparently created no small stir at the time, and Bligh, much as he must have disliked doing so, felt called upon to reply to it in the same year. This "Answer to Certain Assertions," &c., is also a very rare pamphlet, but a copy exists in the British Museum. Its preface runs as follows:—

It is with no small degree of regret, that I find myself under the necessity of obtruding my private concerns on the Public. A pamphlet has appeared, under the title of "Minutes of the Procedure on the Court-Martial held at Portsmouth, August 12th, 1792, on Ten Persons charged with Mutiny on Board His Majesty's Ship the *Bounty*; with an Appendix containing a full Account of the Real Causes, etc. etc." This Appendix is the work of Mr. Edward Christian, the brother of Fletcher Christian, who headed the Mutineers of the *Bounty*, written apparently for the purpose of vindicating his brother's condition at my expence.

The respect I owe to that Public in whose service I have spent my life, as well as regard to my character, compel me to reply to such parts of Mr. Christian's Appendix as might, if unnoticed, obtain credit to my prejudice.

Of the Minutes of the Court-Martial, thus published, it is necessary to observe, that they differ from the Minutes lodged in the Admiralty Office; and in some places materially. One instance of this will appear among the Proofs, which are here submitted to the Public.

The information which furnished Mr. Edward Christian with materials for his Appendix, he states "to have been collecting from many interviews and conversations, in the presence and hearing of several respectable gentlemen." He then mentions the names of all the persons with whom these conversations were held, without distinguishing the particular information given by any individual.

The mixing together the names of men, whose assertions merit very different degrees of credit, and blending their evidence into one mass, is liable to two objections: first, the impossibility of tracing the author of any particular assertion; secondly, the danger, which to a reader is unavoidable, of supposing that the statements made by those who were active accomplices in the Mutiny, came from men of respectable character, with whom he has then associated them.

One of the hardest cases which can befall any man, is to be reduced to the necessity of defending his character by his own

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assertions only. As such, fortunately, is not my situation, I have vested my defence on the testimony of others; adding only, such of the written orders issued by me in the course of the voyage, as are connected with the matter in question; which orders being issued publicly in writing, may be offered as evidence of unquestionable credit.

These testimonials, without further remark from me, I trust will be sufficient to do away any impression which the publication may have imbibed, from reading Mr. Edward Christian's Defence of his brother.

All this was sound—phrased with such moderation that we may wonder how far Bligh was responsible for the wording.

The "List of Proofs" was as follows:—

1. Orders issued upon our Arrival at Otahete, to regulate our Intercourse with the Natives. October 25, 1788.⁸

2. Orders respecting the confinement of three men, who had deserted the Ship. January 24th, 1789.

3. Letter from the Deserters. January 26th, 1789.⁹

4. Examination respecting the Loss of His Majesty's Ship the *Bounty* by the High Court of Judicature at Batavia. October 13th, 1789. [These proceedings were purely formal; and contain a brief statement of the circumstances of the mutiny and the open boat voyage. Bligh was not present, by the desire of the Court, but no complaints against him were made.]

5. Description of the Pirates remaining on board His Majesty's Armed Vessel the *Bounty* on the 28th April, 1789.¹

6. Orders given to Mr. John Fryer, the Master, on leaving him at Batavia, July 14th, 1792.

7. Letter from Mr. Peter Heywood, Midshipman, to Mr. Bligh, July 14th, 1792. [Condoling on the loss of her father and inquiring about some clothes he had left behind. He congratulates her upon her husband's "safe but miraculous arrival in England," and continues, "I hope ere this you have heard the cause of my determination to stay in the ship; which, being unknown to Captain Bligh, he did, as I have reason to fear, (I must say naturally), conclude, or rather suspect, me to have likewise been a coadjutor in that unhappy affair; but God only knows how little I merit so unjust a suspicion, (if such a suspicion ever entered his breast); but yet my thorough consciousness of not having merited it, makes me sometimes flatter myself that he could scarcely be so cruel." One cannot help feeling that "Determination to stay in the ship" was a curious expression to be used by one whose defence was that he was detained by force.]

⁸ Quoted p. 8, *ante*.

⁹ Quoted p. 11, *ante*.

¹ Referred to, p. 25.

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8. Extract from Mr. Peter Heywood's Defence on his Trial. [The purpose of the extract quoted is to show how well Bligh treated Heywood: "Captain Bligh, in his Narrative, acknowledges that he had left some friends on board the *Bounty*; and no party of my conduct could have induced him to believe that I ought not to be reckoned of that number. Indeed, from his attention to, and very kind treatment of me personally, I should have been a monster of depravity to have betrayed him. The idea alone is sufficient to disturb a mind where humanity and gratitude have, I hope, ever been noticed as its characteristic feats."]

9. Letter from Mr. Peter Heywood to Mr. Edward Christian; published in the *Cumberland Packet and Whitehaven Advertiser*, November 28th, 1792 [The letter is prefaced by an editorial note, which runs: "For the honour of this country, we are happy to assure our readers, that one of its natives, FLETCHER CHRISTIAN, is not that detestable and horrid master of wickedness, which with extreme, and perhaps unexampled, injustice and barbarity to him and his relations he has long been represented: but a character for whom every feeling heart must now sincerely grieve and lament.]"

Great Russel Street, 5 Nov. 1792.

Sir,

I am sorry to say, I have been informed you were included to judge too harshly of your truly unfortunate brother; and to think of him in such a manner, as I am conscious, from the knowledge I had of his most worthy disposition and character (both public and private), he merits not in the slightest degree: therefore I think it my duty to undeceive you, and to rekindle the flame of brotherly love (or pity now) towards him, which I fear the false reports of slander, and vile suspicion, may have nearly extinguished.

Excuse my freedom, Sir. If it would not be disagreeable to you, I will do myself the pleasure of waiting upon you, and endeavour to prove that your brother was not that vile wretch, void of all gratitude, which the world had the unkindness to think him; but, on the contrary, a most worthy character; ruined only by having the misfortune, if it can be so called, of being a young man of strict honour, and adorned with every virtue; and beloved by all (except one, whose ill report is his greatest praise) who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

I am,

Sir,

With esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant,

PETER HEYWOOD.²

² Surely no mutineer in all the world ever had such a panegyric! And although one must admire Peter Heywood's loyalty to his former shipmate, surely no more injudicious letter was ever written by a young man who was starting his career in the Navy again! Had it been written nowadays, such a public reference to a senior officer would be a bar to further employment.

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10. Letter published in *The Times*, July 16th, 1794, from Mr. Edward Harwood, late Surgeon of His Majesty's ship "Providence."³ [This letter, addressed to "The Conductor of the *Times*," and referring to the "Appendix," shows the other side of the medal.]

This publication, Mr. Editor, is disgraced by gross misrepresentation, and low malevolence, of which innumerable instances could be adduced were long details admissible in a newspaper. The shafts of envy are ever levelled against conspicuous merit, but they recoil with redoubled force on the impotent adversary. Captain Bligh's general conduct during the late expedition, which was crowned with the most ample success, his affection to his officers, and humane attention to his men, gained him their high esteem and admiration, and must eventually dissipate any unfavourable opinion, hastily adopted in his absence, I trust that this imbecile and highly illiberal attack, directed by the brother of the Arch-mutineer, will be received by the world with that indignation and contempt it so justly deserves.

11. Affidavit of Joseph Coleman, July 31st, 1794. [Coleman stated that Edward Christian had sent for him and questioned him about Bligh's behaviour; he had replied that Bligh was "a very good man" to him, and added, "I never said more to Mr. Edward Christian than that his brother behaved very well to me after the Mutiny and that I knew no harm of him before the Mutiny."]

12. Affidavit of John Smith, August 1st, 1794. [Smith also had been sent for by Edward Christian; he had told him that Captain Bligh was very well liked in the "Providence" and added "Mr. Christian had no right to make use of my name in the manner he has done in his late publication."]

13. Affidavit of Lawrence Lebogue, August 2nd, 1794. [Lebogue had been the "Bounty's" sail-maker, and had sailed again with Bligh in the "Providence." He stated that he had been sent for by Edward Christian to a public house and questioned mostly about Bligh's behaviour to the officers of the "Providence." He had told him that he was sure "every person in the 'Providence' would speak well of Captain Bligh—he was a father to every person." He had added that Bligh was the best friend Christian ever had.]

14. Letter from Mr. John Hallet to Captain Bligh. [In this letter Hallet advances his "mite towards the confutation of the very malevolent assertions and insinuations conveyed to the public through the medium of that 'Appendix.'" *Inter alia* he states that he did not hear Bligh accuse any individual of theft off Tofoa, though he remembered a complaint of some coconuts having been stolen.]

15. Letter from Mr. Edward Lamb, Commander of the "Adventure," in the Jamaica trade, October 28th, 1794. [Lamb had sailed under Bligh in the "Britannia" and with Fletcher Christian. He refers to Bligh having treated Christian "like a brother" and having been "blind to his faults."]

³ Which Bligh commanded on his second expedition to Tahiti.

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Interesting as these documents are for the light they throw upon various aspects of the mutiny and its consequences, it will be seen that most of them were quite irrelevant as a reply to Edward Christian's assertions. Bligh's professional honour and reputation had been vindicated by a court-martial, and the dignified course would have been to have left the "Appendix" unanswered. Bligh's pamphlet could not have convinced Christian's adherents; and Bligh's friends, it may be supposed, needed no convincing. But the two works do show how high feeling ran and how deep was the public interest taken in the mutiny. On the rights and wrongs of that case there was no agreement then, nor is there ever likely to be now. Fletcher Christian will always have his partisans, and Bligh his.

Perhaps the truth is that each was the victim of his own temperament. Under a commander less irascible Christian would never have become a mutineer: of that there can be no doubt. Yet those who condemn Bligh must bear in mind his situation; he was out of touch with the world; he had no means of communication with European settlements, or even with another ship. His officers were inferior. He had to keep order in a ship's company that would have mistaken leniency for weakness. Then the monotony of his life must have irked a mind that needed action, and his isolation, even in his own ship, may have made him more easily exasperated than was his wont. These are not excuses, but facts. His inability to control his tongue was the bane of his career, but he belonged to a school that believed hard words break no bones. Certainly only an exceptional personality can command habitual obedience by being agreeable to rough sailors. Bligh did not possess such a personality. He was a driver, rather than a leader of men. His abuse could sting more dangerously than he knew, and, when he had done, he forgot his rage and expected others to do the same: with such men it is ever so. In Christian he had an officer as highly tempered as himself; with Christian he went too far; to abuse he added accusation.

For Christian there can be pity, but no condonation. Those who serve their country under the discipline prescribed by the King's Regulations have to take what comes to them with equanimity—it is the first lesson every sailor and

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soldier has to learn. There was but one course Christian could have pursued with propriety and safety: to wait till the end of the voyage and seek his remedy from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. Then Bligh might have been brought to a court-martial and the tables turned.⁴

That Fletcher Christian suffered remorse in the long days that followed on Pitcairn Island we may believe, for he was no ordinary mutineer, and that is why his story is remembered. And in that strange history, so infamous and yet so pitiful, the superstitious may see retribution following Christian and his fellows like a bird of prey, so that but two of them all—Young and Adams—died a natural death; the moralist may look to the present day God-fearing population of Pitcairn Island and point to good arising from the evil that men do; while the cynic may smile at the futility of human endeavour when he learns that in the end the negroes of the West Indies found the bread-fruit too insipid for their taste.

⁴ This did happen in 1808, when Bligh, then in command of the "Warrior," was tried by court-martial for abusing one of his lieutenants, and was admonished.

Chronological Table.

1787	23 December	The "Bounty" sailed from Spithead.
1788	26 October	Reached Tahiti.
1789	4 April	Sailed from Tahiti.
	28 April	The mutiny.
	25 May	Mutineers reached Tubuai.
	6 June	Mutineers reached Tahiti.
	14 June	Bligh reached Coupang in the "Bounty's" launch.
	16 June	Mutineers sailed from Tahiti.
	26 June	Mutineers reached Tubuai.
	12 September	Final Departure from Tubuai.
	20 September	The "Bounty's" last visit to Tahiti.
	21 September	Christian and 8 companions sailed from Tahiti in the "Bounty."
	late December	Christian's arrival at Pitcairn Island.
1790	23 January	The "Bounty" burnt.
	14 March	Bligh landed at Portsmouth.
	22 October	Bligh tried by court-martial for the loss of the "Bounty."
1791	23 March	H.M.S. "Pandora" reached Tahiti.
	8 May	The "Pandora" left Tahiti with 14 mutineers.
	28 August	Wreck of the "Pandora."
	16 September	The "Pandora's" survivors reached Coupang.
1792	19 June	Capt. Edwards and ten prisoners reached Spithead.
	10 September	Capt. Edwards tried by court-martial for the loss of the "Pandora."
	12 September	Court-martial of the mutineers opened.
	18 September	Court-martial of the mutineers closed.
	15 October	Peter Heywood and Morrison reprieved; Muspratt respited.
	29 October	Mutineers Burkitt, Millward, and Ellison executed.
1793		Native rising on Pitcairn Island in which Christian and four mutineers were killed.
1808		The "Topaz" discovered the settlement on Pitcairn Island.
1814	September	H.M.S. "Briton" and "Tagus" reached Pitcairn Island.
1825	5 December	H.M.S. "Blossom" visited Pitcairn Island.
1856		Pitcairn community moved to Norfolk Island.
1864		Six families returned.

THE COURT-MARTIAL
ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP DUKE
IN PORTSMOUTH,
WEDNESDAY, 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1792.

President—

THE RT. HON. LORD HOOD.

MINUTES taken at a Court Martial assembled on board His Majesty's Ship Duke in Portsmouth Harbour on the twelfth Day of September and continued by Adjournment from Day to Day (Sunday excepted) until the eighteenth Day of the same Month one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.

Present.

The Right Honble. Lord Hood, Vice Admiral of the Blue and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Portsmouth and Spithead, President.

Captain Sir Andrew Snape
Hamond, Bart.

George Montagu

John Bazely

John Thomas Duck-
worth

John Knight

Richard Goodwin Keats

Captain John Colpoys

Sir Roger Curtis, Knt.

Sir Andrew Snape

Douglas, Knt.

John Nicholson Ingle-
field

Albemarle Bertie

The Prisoners brought in and Audience Admitted.

The Order from the Right Honorable Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, dated the 20th. August last and directed

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to the President, representing that by an Order from the late Board of Admiralty dated the 16th. of August, 1787, Lieutenant (now Captain) William Bligh was appointed to Command His Majesty's armed Vessel the “Bounty” and, by Instructions from the same Board dated the 20th. November in the same year, was directed to proceed in that Vessel to the Society Islands in order to procure and transport from thence to some of the British Possessions in the West Indies Bread Fruit Trees and other useful Plants, the produce of the said Islands, and further representing that the said Lieutenant Bligh sailed from Spithead on the 23rd. of December following in prosecution of his destined Voyage and by Letter to their Lordships' Secretary, dated at Coupang (a Dutch Settlement in the Island of Timor) on the 18th of August, 1789, acquainted their Lordships that the said Vessel, on her return from Otaheite with a large Cargo of those plants in a very flourishing State, had been violently and forcibly taken from him on the 28th of April immediately preceding by Fletcher Christian, who was Mate of her and Officer of the Watch, assisted by others of the inferior Officers and Men armed with Musquets and Bayonets, and that he (the said Lieutenant Bligh) together with the Master, Boatswain, Gunner, Carpenter, acting Surgeon and other Persons named in a list which accompanied his said Letter (being nineteen in number including himself) were forced into the Launch and cast adrift ten Leagues to the South West of Tofoa, the North-westernmost of the Friendly Islands, without Firearms and a very small quantity of provisions and water, and that having landed at Tofoa and been beat off by the Natives with the loss of one of his Party he bore away for new Holland and Timor and on the 15th. of June following arrived at Coupang abovementioned, distant 1200 Leagues from the Place where the Vessel was seized as aforesaid, from whence he was preparing to transport himself, and the surviving Officers and Men who were then with him, to Batavia in Order to procure a Passage from thence to England, where he and most of the said surviving Officers and Men have long-since arrived; and further representing by their Lordships' Order of the 25th. of October, 1790, Captain Edwards of His Majesty's Ship “Pandora” was directed to proceed in her to Otaheite and other Islands in

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the South Seas and to use his best endeavours to recover the abovementioned armed Vessel and to bring in Confinement to England the said Fletcher Christian and his Associates, or as many of them as had survived and he might be able to apprehend, in Order that they might be brought to condign Punishment; and further representing that the said Captain Edwards, by his Letter to their Lordships' Secretary dated at Batavia the 25th. of November last, gave an account of his proceedings in the execution of the said Order by which it appears that he arrived at Otaheite on the 23rd. of March preceding, soon after which the following Persons who went away with the abovementioned armed Vessel came on board the " Pandora," viz :

Peter Heywood	Midshipman
George Stewart	Do.
Joseph Coleman	Armourer
Richard Skinner	Seaman

that the other Persons undermentioned (who also went away with the said armed Vessel) were taken a few Days afterwards on another Part of the Island and brought on board the said Ship, viz :

James Morrison	Boatswain's Mate
Charles Norman	Carpenter's Mate
Thomas M'Intosh	Carpenter's Crew
Thomas Ellison	} Seamen
Henry Hilbrant	
Thomas Burkitt	
John Millward	
John Sumner	
William Muspratt	
Michael Byrn	

that on his Passage to England the " Pandora " was lost in Endeavour Straits and four of the said Persons, viz. George Stewart, Richard Skinner, Henry Hilbrant, and John Sumner drowned; and further representing that the said Peter Heywood, James Morrison, Charles Norman, Joseph Coleman, Thomas Ellison, Thomas M'Intosh, Thomas Burkitt, John Millward, William Muspratt, and Michael Byrn had been brought to England, and to assemble a Court Martial for the trial of the said Peter Heywood, James Morrison, Charles Norman, Joseph Coleman, Thomas Ellison, Thomas

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M’Intosh, Thomas Burkitt, John Millward, William Muspratt, and Michael Byrn for mutinously running away with the said armed Vessel the “Bounty” and deserting from His Majesty’s Service as abovementioned, was read.¹

The Members of the Court and the Judge Advocate then in open Court and before they proceeded respectively took the several Oaths enjoined and directed in and by an Act of Parliament made and passed in the twenty second year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Second intituled “An Act for amending explaining and reducing into one Act of Parliament the Laws relating to the Government of His Majesty’s Ships Vessels and Forces by Sea.”²

Then the said Letter from Lieutt Bligh to the Secretary of the Admiralty dated at Coupang on the 18th. of August 1789 containing the Charges was read.³

Then an Extract from the beforementioned Letter⁴ from Captain Edwards to their Lordships’ Secretary, dated at Batavia the 25th. Day of November last,⁴ and also an Extract from Lieutenant Bligh’s Journal⁵ of his proceedings in the “Bounty” relative to her Capture were read, and the Witnesses were ordered to withdraw and to attend their Examinations separately.

A Letter from Mr. Peter Heywood, one of the Prisoners, addressed to the President, was read by the Judge Advocate and is as follows:—

¹ The foregoing appears to be the “Circumstantial Letter,” with which court-martial proceedings still open. It is forwarded to the Convening Authority, and sets out the circumstances on which the charge is founded. It must be clear and specific, because a copy is sent to the accused, and is notice to him of the case he must come prepared to meet. On it the Convening Authority decides whether or no there shall be a court-martial, and with it are sent the charges, list of witnesses for the prosecution, and a summary of evidence.

² A Naval Code was drawn up in 1661 and substantially re-enacted in 1749 (22 Geo. II. c. 33) when the “Laws relating to the government of His Majesty’s ships vessels and forces by sea” were consolidated. This Act, with certain alterations (chiefly by way of mitigation) is still the Naval Code, for it is the foundation of the Naval Discipline Act of 1866.

³ No copy of this document appears in the Minutes. The passage referring to the mutiny will be found on p. 20 *et seq.*

⁴ This letter was put in as evidence at the court-martial on Captain Edwards. No copy appears here. *Vide* Introduction, p. 43.

⁵ No copy of the extract is annexed to the Minutes. *Vide* pp. 12, 22, 47.

The Court-Martial.

Hector, Sept. 10th, 1792.

“ My Lord,

By the Advice of my Friends, I am induced to request the Favor of your Lordship to allow me to be tried alone.

It were intruding upon your Lordship's time to state my reasons for making this request which, however, if it does not militate against the established Rules of the Service, nor the Practice of Naval Courts Martial upon such occasions, I flatter myself will be readily complied with.

I have the Honor to be, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedt. and most Humble Servant,

Lord Hood.

(Signed) P. HEYWOOD.”

The Court retired and agreed—That the whole of the Prisoners must be tried together.

The Court returned, and the above Minute being read,

Mr. JOHN FRYER, Master of His Majesty's armed Vessel “ Bounty,” was called in and sworn.

Examined by the COURT—Inform the Court of all the Circumstances within your Knowledge respecting the running away with His Majesty's Ship “ Bounty ”?—On the 28th. of April, 1789, the first Part we tacked and stood to the Southward and Westward until the Island of Tofoa bore North then steered West North West. In the first Part of the Evening we had little Wind with rain—I had the first Watch. About ten O'Clock the weather cleared and became very fine; the Moon at that time was in its first Quarter and a breeze sprung up from the E.S.E. Between ten and eleven O'Clock Mr. Bligh came on Deck, agreeable to his usual Custom to leave his Orders for the Night;⁶ after Mr. Bligh had been on Deck some little time I said, “ Sir, we have got a fine breeze and a Moon coming on, which will be fortunate for us when we come to the Coast of New Holland.” Mr. Bligh replied, “ Yes, Mr. Fryer, so it will,” which was all the Conversation that passed between us. After leaving his Orders he went off the Deck. At twelve O'Clock we had

⁶ In Fryer's MS. Journal (*vide* Introduction, p. 14) the corresponding passage contains the statement: “ We at that time was upon speaking terms, but I am sorry to say that that was but seldom.”

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fine Weather and every thing quiet on board. I was relieved by Mr. Peckover, the Gunner; every thing remained quiet until he was relieved at four O'Clock by Mr. Fletcher Christian. At the Dawn of Day I was much alarmed, whether from the Noise Mr. Bligh said he made or by the People coming into my Cabin I cannot tell, but when I attempted to jump up John Sumner and Matthew Quintal laid their Hands upon my Breast and desired me to lay down, saying, "You are a Prisoner, Sir." I attempted to expostulate with them; they told me to hold my Tongue or you are a dead Man, but if you remain quiet there is no Person on board that will hurt a hair of your head. I then, by raising myself on the locker, which place I always slept on for coolness, saw on the ladder going upon Deck—Mr. Bligh in his Shirt,⁷ with his Hands tied behind him, and Christian holding him by the cord. The Master at Arms, Charles Churchill, then came to my Cabin and took a Brace of Pistols and a Hanger, saying, "I will take care of these, Mr. Fryer." The Pistols would have been of no Service to me as I had no Ammunition; the time we armed to confine the Chiefs at Anamocha on account of a Grapnel being stolen from the large Cutter when on shore, John Mills the Gunner's Mate had taken the Cartridge Box out of my Cabin, which had the Pistol Balls in, and filled it with Musquet Cartridges for one of the People who wanted a Cartridge Box and Mr. Bligh ordered him to load or part load the Pistols with Powder only, to be in readiness to fire off the four Pounders in case of necessity.⁸ When I saw Mr. Bligh on the ladder I asked what they were going to do with their Captain. "Damn his Eyes," Sumner said, "put him into the Boat, and let the Bugger see if he can live upon three fourths of a Pound of Yams a day." "Into the Boat?" I said, "for Godsake for what?" "O Sir, hold your tongue," they replied (Sumner and Quintal). "Mr. Christian is Captain of the Ship and recollect that Mr. Bligh has brought all this upon himself." I said again, "Consider, my Lads, what you are about." John Sumner

⁷ Journal: "and trowsers."

⁸ For Bligh's references to these pistols, *vide* Introduction, p. 31.

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replied, "O Sir, we know very well what we are about." "I am afraid not," I said again, "or you would not persist in your Intentions; let me persuade you to lay down your Arms and I will insure that nothing shall hurt you, for what you have done." "O No, Sir," they replied, "hold your tongue, it is too late now." I then said, "What Boat are they going to put Captain Bligh into?" They said, "The small Cutter." "Good God! the small Cutter's bottom is almost out, being very much eaten with the Worms." "Damn his Eyes," Sumner and Quintal said, "the Boat is too good for him." I said, "I hope they are not going to send Captain Bligh adrift by himself." They answered "No, his Clerk, Mr. Samuel, Messrs. Hayward and Hallett, are going with him." I requested they would let me go on Deck to speak to Captain Bligh, before he went into the Boat; they answered I could not. At last I prevailed on them to call upon Deck to Christian to give me permission to go up, which after some hesitation he granted. When I came upon Deck Mr. Bligh was standing by the Mizen Mast with his Hands tied behind him and Christian holding the Cord with one Hand and a Bayonet in the other. I said, "Mr. Christian, consider what you are about." "Hold your tongue Sir," he said, "I have been in Hell for Weeks past—Captain Bligh has brought all this on himself." I told him that Mr. Bligh and his not agreeing was no reason for his taking the ship. "Hold your tongue, Sir," he said. I said, "Mr. Christian, you and I have been on friendly terms during the Voyage, therefore give me leave to speak; let Mr. Bligh go down to his Cabin and I make no doubt but that we shall all be friends again in a very short time." He then repeated, "Hold your tongue, Sir, it is too late," and threatening me if I said any more; however, I said, "Mr. Christian, if you will not grant what I first asked you, do pray give Captain Bligh a better Boat than the small Cutter, whose Bottom is almost out, and let him have a chance to get on shore." He said, "No, that Boat is good enough." I whispered to Captain Bligh to keep his Spirits up, that if I staid on board I might be enabled soon to follow him. Mr. Bligh said, "By all means stay, Mr. Fryer." This he spoke so loud that Christian could not

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avoid hearing him, but took no notice. Captain Bligh said one of the Men under Arms (Isaac Martin) was a Friend, aft by the Hencoops, and said to me several times, "Knock Christian down." All this Christian must hear, but still took no notice. Captain Bligh must certainly have been much confused at this time, otherwise he never would have said "knock Christian down," whatever he thought at that time. There were two Men behind me, Sumner and Quintal, with Musquets and Bayonets fixed. However I made an effort to get past Christian, to speak to Martin, who Captain Bligh said was a friend, when Christian put his Bayonet to my breast, saying, "Sir if you advance an Inch further, I will run you through," and ordered the People to take me down to my Cabin; his orders were readily obeyed by Sumner and Quintal. At the Hatchway I saw James Morrison, the Boatswain's Mate; he was at that time getting a Tackle to hook upon the Launch's stern, apparently, so I said to him, "Morrison, I hope you have no Hand in this Business?" He replied, "No Sir, I do not know a Word about it," or Words to that effect. "If that's the case," I said in a low Voice, "be on your Guard; there may be an opportunity of recovering ourselves." His answer was "Go down to your Cabin, Sir, it is too late." I was then confined to my Cabin and a third Centinel put on, John Millward, who I thought seemed friendly. I winked at him and made a motion for him to knock the Man down that was next to him, which was John Sumner. Millward immediately cocked his Piece and dropt it pointed towards me, saying at the same time, "Mr. Fryer be quiet, no one will hurt you." He held his Piece sometime in that position. I said, "Millward, your Piece is cocked, you had better uncock it, as you may shoot some Person." He then held his Piece up and said, "There is no one who wishes to shoot you." Sumner said, "No, that was our Agreement not to commit Murder." Mr. Samuel, the Clerk, was all this time getting things out of Captain Bligh's Cabin. Messrs. Peckover, the Gunner, and Nelson, the Botanist, were confined down in the Cockpit, to which Place I persuaded the Centinels to let me go. When I got there Mr. Nelson was with Mr. Peckover in his Cabin. Mr. Nelson said, "Mr. Fryer, what have we brought on

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ourselves?" Mr. Peckover, the Gunner, said, "What is best to be done, Mr. Fryer?" I told him that I had spoke to Captain Bligh desiring him to keep his Spirits up, that if I staid on board the Ship I hoped soon to follow him, and Mr. Bligh said, "By all means stay, Mr. Fryer." I said to them if we were ordered into the Boat—say that you will stay on board, and I flatter myself that we shall recover the Ship in a short time. Mr. Peckover said, "If we stay we shall be all deemed Pirates." I told them not—that I would answer for them and every one that would join with me. At the time we were talking Henry Hilbrant, the Cooper, was in the Breadroom getting some Bread to put into the Boat for Captain Bligh; I suppose he must have heard our Conversation and had gone on Deck and told Christian, as I was immediately ordered up to my Cabin, when I heard from the Centinels that Christian had consented to give Captain Bligh the Launch, but not for his sake but the safety of those who were going with him. I then asked if they knew who was going into the Boat with Captain Bligh; they said no, but believed a great many. I then heard Christian say, "Give every Man a dram out of Captain Bligh's Case, that is under Arms." John Smith, the Captain's Servant, was called for and the dram served out; this Circumstance gave me great hopes that if I should stay on board, that they would get drunk and in a short time might take the Ship. Sometime after, Messrs. Peckover and Nelson were ordered upon Deck, when Christian said to me, "Mr. Fryer, go into the Boat." I said, "I will stay with you, if you will give me leave." "No, Sir," he replied, "go directly into the Boat." Captain Bligh was at that time on the Gangway without the rail and his Hands at Liberty. He said, "Mr. Fryer, stay in the Ship." "No, by God, Sir," Christian said, "go into the Boat or I will run you through," pointing his Bayonet at my Breast. I then went outside the rail to Mr. Bligh, and asked Christian to let Mr. Tinkler, my Brother in Law, go with me. Churchill said "No"—however, after much solicitations, Christian permitted him to go with me; I then requested my trunk, which was granted, but Christian gave orders that nothing else should be taken out of my Cabin. I requested

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my Log Book and Quadrant, which was denied me as Mr. Bligh had a Quadrant. I cannot say who was in the Boat first, Mr. Bligh or myself; however, we were both on the Gangway together. All this time there was very bad Language made use of by the People to Captain Bligh. We all begged that they would give us two or three Musquets into the Boat; Churchill would not consent to it—said Mr. Bligh was very well acquainted with the People where he was going. The Boat was ordered astern; after laying astern sometime, four Cutlasses were handed into the Boat, the People at the same time making use of very approbious Language—I heard several of them say, "Shoot the Bugger" (meaning Captain Bligh). Mr. Cole, the Boatswain, said, "We had better cast off, and take our Chance, for they would certainly do us a mischief if we staid much longer." Captain Bligh very readily agreed to cast the Boat off. There was very little Wind; we got our Oars out and rowed directly astern; our reason for so doing was, that we should be sooner out of the reach of the Guns. As soon as the Boat was cast off I heard Christian give orders to loose the Top Gallant Sails; they steered the same course as Captain Bligh had ordered—W.N.W.—and continued to do so for the time we saw them. The Confusion that prevailed on board from the first Alarm to our quitting the "Bounty" was so great, and our attention from that time to our arrival at Timor so much taken up by the attention to our Preservation that it was not possible for us to make any Note or Memorandum at the time, even if I had had the means, so that the foregoing account is an exact State of the Case to the best of my recollection. The following is the list of the Persons that I observed under Arms—Fletcher Christian, Master's Mate, Charles Churchill, Ship's Corporal, Thomas Burkitt, A.B.—one of the Prisoners. Christian, Churchill and Burkitt were in the Cabin when Captain Bligh was seized. John Sumner, Matthew Quintal, John Millward—one of the Prisoners—Sumner, Quintal and Millward were Centinels over me. Isaac Martin was Centinel abaft of the Hencoops. The four following that remained on board wished to come into the

⁹ Fryer's Journal: "Several of them appeared to be drunk, which was really the case."

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Boat—Joseph Coleman, Armourer—one of the Prisoners, who called out several times to recollect that he had no hand in the Business—Thomas M'Intosh, Carpenter's Mate, another of the Prisoners, and Charles Norman, another of the Prisoners, were leaning over the rail apparently to me to be crying—Michael Byrn, another of the Prisoners, in one of the Boats crying. I heard him say that if he went into the Boat, that the People who were in her would leave him when they got on Shore as he could not see to follow them, or Words to that effect. Mr. Peter Heywood, another of the Prisoners, I did not perceive on Deck at the Seizure of the Ship.

You have named six Persons who were under Arms; do you believe that those were the only Persons under Arms?—No.

What was your reason for so believing?—From hearing the People in the Boat say so, but I did not see any more under Arms to the best of my recollection.

Inform the Court of the Number of Men you saw upon Deck on each of the times you went upon Deck?—Eight or ten.

What time did you remain upon Deck on each of the times that you went upon Deck?—About ten Minutes or a quarter of an Hour.

What works were going on on each of those times?—When I went upon Deck first they were hoisting the Boats out and when I went upon Deck the last time there was nothing going on particularly, but the Centinels over Captain Bligh and myself forcing of us into the Boats.

Do you think that the Boats could be hoisted out by eight or ten People?—No.

Have you any other reason to know that there were any Persons under Arms, other than those you have mentioned, but from what you was told in the Boat?—No.

When you was upon the Quarter Deck did you perceive any of the Prisoners active in obeying any Orders that they received from Christian or Churchill or while you was on the Gangway?—I saw Burkitt and Millward, two of the Prisoners, under Arms as Centinels over Captain Bligh and me at the Gangway, which I suppose was by Order of Christian.

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You have said that you saw Morrison, the Boatswain's Mate, assisting in hoisting the Boats out; did you see any other of the Prisoners employed on that Business or on any other?—No, my attention was so taken up with the Conversation with Captain Bligh that I did not observe what was doing.

When the Dram was served to the People on board the "Bounty" did you see either of the Prisoners partake of that Dram?—Only one of them, Millward.

When the Boat in which Mr. Bligh and those who accompanied him were put [was] veered astern, did you observe any one of the Prisoners join in the bad Language which you say passed upon that occasion?—Not to the best of my recollection. I saw Millward upon the Taffrel Rail with a Musquet in his Hand; there was so much Noise and Confusion in the Boat that I could not hear one Man from the other.

You say also that when the Cutlasses were handed into the Boat very bad language was made use of by the Mutineers: did any one of the Prisoners join in it upon that occasion?—Not to my recollection—it was a general thing among the whole.

Did you see Thomas Ellison, one of the Prisoners, in the Day of the Mutiny on board the "Bounty"?—No.

Did you see William Muspratt at that time?—No.

At the time you were ordered upon Deck after the Conversation you have related to have passed in the Cockpit, how and by whom were those Orders conveyed to you?—By the Centinels, Millward, Sumner, and Quintal.

When Mr. Bligh and you were ordered into the Boat, did any Person assist or offer to assist Mr. Christian in putting those Orders into Execution?—Yes—Churchill, Sumner, and Quintal—and Burkitt I saw—under Arms upon the Quarter Deck at a Distance.

You have said when you cast the Boat off that you rowed right astern for the purpose of getting out of the Way of the Guns—had you seen any preparations made for firing them?—I meant the small Arms that the Men had in their Hands—which they held up, and their language was "Shoot the Buggers."

Was you near enough when you heard Christian order the

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Top Gallant Sails to be loosed to know any of the People who went upon the Yards?—It was only one, who was a Boy at that time, Thomas Ellison.

As Master of the “Bounty,” how many Men did it require to hoist the Launch out?—It might be done with ten Men.

Was the remark you made of your not having seen Peter Heywood on Deck during that Day the 29th. of April made at Timor or since you knew that he had been apprehended by the “Pandora”?—Since I knew he was apprehended, but I had frequently told Captain Bligh in our Conversations that I had not seen the Youngsters on Deck.

How many men went up to loose the Top Gallant Sails?—I only saw this Boy Ellison go up to loose the Main Top Gallant sail.

What reason had you to imagine that John Millward was friendly to you at the time he was placed Centinel over you?—He appeared to me to be very uneasy in Mind.

You say that you obtained permission for Tinkler to join the Boat with you. Had he been compelled to remain in the Ship?—He had been told by Churchill that he was to stay aboard to be his Servant and came crying to me in my Cabin.

In what Part of the Ship were the Youngsters birthed in?—Down the Main Hatchway—they had a Birth on each Side of the Main Hatchway.

Did you observe whether there was a Centinel or Centinels over the Main Hatchway?—Yes, I omitted to mention that I saw Thompson sitting upon the Arm Chest on the Main Gratings by the Main Hatchway. I wanted to have gone into our Mess Place in Order to speak to them thro’ the Bulkhead, but I was stopped by Sumner and Quintal.

Was Thompson Armed?—To the best of my recollection I saw a Cutlass in his Hand.

Did you consider him to have been a Centinel over the Youngsters’ Birth?—Yes—and a Centinel on the Arm Chest at the same time.

Do you know that on that Day there was any effort made by any Person in the Ship to recover her?—No—only by what I said to the Gunner and Morrison. The Boatswain came down in a flurry and I whispered him to stay in the

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Ship, but I do not know whether he heard me or not; he has since said he did hear me.

What time elapsed from the first Alarm to the time of your being forced into the Boat?—About two hours and a half or three hours, to the best of my recollection.

What did you suppose to be Mr. Christian’s meaning when he said he had been in Hell for a fortnight?—From the frequent Quarrels that they had had, and the Abuse which he had received from Mr. Bligh.

Had there been any very recent Quarrel?—The Day before Mr. Bligh challenged all the young Gentlemen and People with stealing his Cocoanuts.

When you went into the Cockpit were there any Centinels placed over Mr. Nelson and Mr. Peckover?—Not below; the same Centinels who confined me to my Cabin kept them below also.

[Mr. PETER HEYWOOD delivered a Paper writing to the Court which was read by the Judge Advocate as follows—“As what I should ask would be rather an examination in Chief, rather than a Cross examination of Witnesses in the usual Manner, and might be the means of delay to the Court, and prevent the Evidence from standing in so clear a point of view, as it is incumbent upon me, and no doubt is the wish of the Court to have it stand, I shall therefore beg to defer asking any questions until I come up on my Defence—reserving to myself, however, the privilege of calling again any of those Witnesses who may be examined on the Part of the Prosecution.]

Cross-examined by MICHAEL BYRN—Was you upon Deck when the large Cutter was hoisted out?—No.

Cross-examined by JAMES MORRISON—Do you recollect when you spoke to me, what particular answer I made, and are you positive that it was me who said, “Go down to your Cabin?”—Yes, I am positive it was you—you said, “Go down to your Cabin, it is too late.”

Do you recollect that I said, “I will do my endeavour to raise a Party and rescue the Ship?”—No.

Did you observe any Part of my Conduct particularly on that Day, which will lead you to think I was one of the



Thursday October Christian
Son of Fletcher Christian

(From "Pitcairn," by the Rev. Thos. Boyles Murray)

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Mutineers?—I never saw him only at that time, and his appearance gave me reasons to speak to him to be on his Guard; he appeared to be friendly and his answer rather surprised me, or whether he spoke thro' fear of the others or not, I do not know.

By the COURT—Might not Morrison's speaking to you, and telling you to keep below, be from a laudable Motive, as supposing your resistance at that time might have prevented a more advantageous effort?—Probably it might—had I staid in the Ship he would have been one of the first that I should have opened my Mind to, from his good behaviour in the former Part of the Voyage.

Did he speak to you in a threatening tone or address you as advice?—Addressed me as advice.

Did you see any Person that appeared to be forcing Morrison the Prisoner to hook the tackles upon the Launch?—No.

Did you see the Prisoner Morrison employed in any other way than that which you have related, from the time you were first confined until the Boat was cast loose from the Ship?—No.

In hoisting out that Boat did you consider it as assisting the Mutineers or as giving Captain Bligh a better chance for his Life?—Assisting Captain Bligh and giving him a better chance for his Life.

Cross-examined by THOMAS BURKITT—If you did not see Captain Bligh before he was going up the ladder with Mr. Christian, how could you see me in his Cabin assisting to seize him?—I have not said that I saw you assisting to seize Captain Bligh, but when Captain Bligh was on the ladder I saw Churchill and Burkitt come out of his Cabin Armed.

Did you see me when I was on Deck under Arms take any Charge upon me or use any bad Language?—No.

Did I in the Course of the Voyage do my Duty and behave myself as became a good Seaman in every respect whatever?—Yes.

Cross-examined by JOHN MILLWARD—Did you see me at the time you came and spoke to Morrison for to rescue the Ship?—No, he was ordered as an additional Centinel over me, after that Business.

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Did I take the Arms I had at that time voluntarily or by Force?—I cannot tell.

Do you recollect the Words I spoke to you when I came down the Cockpit?—No, but what I have already said.

The Witness withdrew.

WILLIAM COLE, Boatswain of His Majesty's Ship “Bounty,” called in and sworn.

Examined by the COURT—Inform the Court of all the Circumstances within your Knowledge respecting His Majesty's Ship “Bounty” being run away with?—The first of my knowing it was—one Quintal, a Seaman, called to the Carpenter (but whether Quintal was in the Cabin with the Carpenter or in the Cockpit I do not know) and said that they had mutinied and taken the Ship, and Mr. Christian had the Command; the Captain was then a Prisoner on the Quarter Deck. I was asleep and it awaked me, and I jumped out of my Cabin and says to the Carpenter, “For God's sake, I hope you know nothing of this.” He told me not. There was at the same time the Sailmaker, Lawrence Lebogue, laying by my Cabin in the Cockpit. I asked him what he meant to do, or what he thought of it (this passed while I was putting my Cloaths on); he told me he did not know what to do, he would do as I did. I went up the Hatchway directly and looking aft I saw Matthew Thompson, Centinel on the Main Hatchway. Mr. Heywood was then leaning over his own Hammock in the larboard Birth and Mr. Young on the Starboard Side—to the best of my knowledge Mr. Elphinstone was looking over the side of the Birth which ¹[was bo]arded up; [then] upon Deck were I believe five Men under Arms about the Fore Hatchway and on the Deck Charles Churchill, William Brown, Alexander Smith, William McKoy, and John Williams. I looked aft and saw the Captain with his Hands tied behind him; there were Centinels over him John Mills, Isaac Martin, Thomas Ellison, one of the Prisoners; and Thomas Burkitt, another of the Prisoners, was on the Quarter Deck, seeing the Captain confined aft. I jumped down the Fore Hatchway at once and I awaked

¹ The page is torn here. Words in brackets conjectured.

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Morrison, Millward, and M'Intosh, three of the Prisoners who all lay in the same Tier. I informed them of what had happened in the Ship, thinking at that time to form a Party. I asked them if they knew anything of it and they told me not; Millward, the Prisoner, said he was very sorry for it, he said he had a hand in the foolish Piece of Business before,² and that he was afraid they would make him have a Hand in that also. Then Churchill came forward and called out to Millward, desired him to come upon Deck immediately to take a Musquet, or that he had a Musquet for him, I do not remember the particular Words; with that they all went up as they put their Cloaths on—and I did not see either one of the rest of them have a Musquet at that time. I went upon Deck and went aft, and asked Mr. Christian what he meant to do—he then ordered me to hoist the Boat out and shook the Bayonet, threatening me and damning me if I did not take Care. I asked him Liberty to go and speak to Mr. Fryer and he granted it. I went down below and asked him what to do, or what he thought to do, or Words to that Purport. He spoke in a low Voice to me—"Stay." One of the Centinels (Sumner I believe it was) said that he (meaning Mr. Fryer) had a wife and Family, but that would be all forgot in a few Months. Then Mr. Fryer came upon Deck and asked Mr. Christian what he was about (the particular Words I do not recollect); he then told him that if he did not approve of the Captain's behaviour to put him under an Arrest and proceed on the Voyage. He³ told him that if that was all he had to say to go down to his Cabin again, for he had been in Hell for Weeks and weeks past. Then they were intending to send the Captain and they mentioned Mr. Hayward, Mr. Hallett, and Mr. Samuel was to go with them. They had got the Bread and every thing was upon deck ready to hand into the Boat—the small Boat; her Bottom was stove and they made Interest with Mr. Christian for the other Cutter; she was then a Shell, her thwarts all unshipped. Coleman, Norman, and McIntosh, three of the Prisoners, with

² This refers to the occasion when he deserted from the "Bounty" at Otaheite, with Churchill and Muspratt. *Vide* Introduction, p. 10.

³ *I.e.*, Christian.

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the Assistance of the Carpenter, fixed all the thwarts and got the Boat ready—she was then got out—Christian was still threatening me if I carried anything away or sprang any Yard. I then found the Captain was going to be sent from the Ship. I went Aft with the Carpenter and asked him for the Long Boat. Mr. Hallett and Mr. Hayward were upon Deck at this time. I asked Christian for the Boat three or four times before he made any Answer. Captain Bligh said, "For God's sake, Mr. Cole, do all that lays in your Power." Then the Carpenter said, "I have done nothing that I am ashamed or afraid of, I want to see my Native Country." He⁴ then granted the Launch. Then the Carpenters and Armourer, with Mr. Purcell, were employed in fitting her. While the Boat was going over the side I saw Byrn, one of the Prisoners, in the Cutter alongside, but how he came into her I do not know; whether he was hoisted out in her or ordered into her or how he came into her I do not know. Then we were employed getting the Launch over the side. Mr. Christian gave Orders for a Bottle of rum or some other Liquor to be brought upon Deck and ordered a Dram to be given to every Man under Arms—the Liquor was brought forward by John Smith, the Servant; some of them told him to give me a Dram. I told them I would not drink it raw, and then got some Water in a Pot. Mr. Christian was continually calling out, "Take care you carry nothing away"—threatening and shaking the bayonet. I saw Mr. Peter Heywood, one of the Prisoners, who was standing there lending a hand to get the Fore Stay fall along, and when the Boat was hooked on he spoke something to me, but what it was I do not know, for Christian was threatening me at the time, and Mr. Heywood then went below and I do not remember seeing him afterwards, whilst we were in the Ship; then we got the Boat out and were getting the things into the Boat; Norman, McIntosh, Coleman, and Morrison and several others who went in the Boat were assisting. They got the Masts, Oars, Sails, Twine, Lines, Rope, Canvas and other necessaries. There was Churchill and Quintal walking about saying, "Damn them, they have enough." At this time, looking about, I saw William Muspratt, one

⁴ Christian.

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of the Prisoners, with a Musquet in his Hand; I don't recollect seeing him before. I heard Churchill call out to keep somebody below, but who it was I do not know; with that—Churchill and Quintal were forcing the people into the Boat; Coleman, one of the Prisoners, had a bag, which appeared to me to contain Iron, and he was handing it into the Boat, or it was in the Boat—Christian ordered him to be stopped, likewise the two Carpenter's Mates, Norman and McIntosh. Most of the People were then in the Boat; they were trying to get the Carpenter's Tool Chest into the Boat, when they wanted to go. Matthew Quintal said, "Damn them, if we let them have those things they will build a Vessel in a Month." The Chest was then handed into the Boat, but some of the tools were taken out of it—the Carpenter had got his Cloaths Chest into the Boat; then they were forcing the People out of the Ship who were going and who were not on their Side—and I went into the Boat, and things laid in great Confusion in the Boat, and they were stowing them away. Then Mr. Peckover and the Botanist, Mr. Hayward and Mr. Hallett, were put into the Boat and then Captain Bligh was brought to the Side, and ordered into the Boat, as soon as they were in Almost; then we veered the Boat astern. Coleman and Norman were standing at the Gangway crying all this Time, after they were ordered not to go into the Boat, and McIntosh was standing there also and would have wished to come into the Boat—and Byrn was in the Cutter all the time crying. We dropt the Launch astern and they handed some Pieces of Pork and two or three cocoanut Shells for holding Water and a couple of Calabashes were handed in—Burkitt went and got some Cloaths for the Gunner and brought it and hove it into the Boat to him. One of the People (Sumner) demanded my Call and said it would be of no use to me where I was going—I asked him at the same time in the Indian tongue if he would give me anything for it; I sent it up to him, but got nothing for it. Norton, one of the Quarter Masters, asked for a Jacket and Skinner said, "You Bugger, if I had my Will I would blow your Brains out." I then told Captain Bligh that we had best cast off; he asked my reason; I told him that I thought they would fire upon us; he

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then called and wished to speak to Mr. Christian, but he did not come aft, to my knowledge. Coleman called out and beg'd they would take notice that he had no Hand at all in it; if ever any body should live to get to England he beg'd them to remember him to a Mr. Green in Greenwich. Then we cast the Boat off and pulled in towards Tofoa—I suppose our Boat could not be more than seven or eight Inches out of the water a Midships at that time. The last I saw was seeing Thomas Ellison loosing the Main-top Gallant Sail.

How many Men did you see under Arms?—Nine upon Deck at first; there were two or three down the Main Hatchway as Centinels—Charles Churchill, William Brown, Alexander Smith, John Williams, William McKoy, Isaac Martin, John Mills, Thomas Burkitt, one of the Prisoners; those were upon Deck—Matthew Thompson was in the Main Hatchway. Matthew Quintal and John Sumner were over the Master's Cabin, and in the after Cockpit together; the Cooper, Henry Hilbrant, who is dead, was also under Arms on Deck—and Skinner was under Arms on Deck but I did not see him at first. William Muspratt was with a Musquet upon Deck—it was at the latter Part of the time that I saw him. Millward was aft under Arms agreeable to his Orders. Churchill called out to him saying, “Damn you, come up, here is a Musquet ready for you.”

You have said you were ordered by Mr. Christian to hoist the Launch out; what Number of Men were assisting you to hoist her out?—About fourteen or fifteen, those under Arms assisted me as well as the others—but they did not quit their Arms.

Was you ever confined or put under any restraint or a Centinel over you?—I was never kept to my Cabin or below, nor was I put under any restraint.

Did any of the Prisoners help to hoist the Launch out?—Yes—Coleman, Norman, McIntosh, Morrison and Mr. Heywood; at the first Part of getting the Boat clear those were forward.

Had you any Conversation with either of the Prisoners respecting the Consequences of the Mutiny that was going on?—No more than I have already said.

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What was the degree of Force used to those People who were ordered not to get into the Boat?—No further than that they were ordered and the People stood round them armed and they did not attempt breaking the Order.

Did you see any attempt made by any one of the Prisoners to put an End to the Mutiny?—None.

You say you saw Peter Heywood overhaul the Forestay Tackle fall; do you think he did it voluntarily or not?—Yes, I do.

Do you think he was influenced by threats of People under Arms?—No.

You have just said that you saw no one of the Prisoners make any attempt to put a stop to the Mutiny. Did you see any one of them shew evident marks of disapprobation of what was going forward?—No, I did not.

When the drams were ordered to be served did you see any one of the Prisoners partake of them?—I did not pay any attention to who dranked or not.

Did you hear any one of the Prisoners threaten to fire into the Launch before you cast off with her?—No—nobody but Skinner.

You have said that Coleman, Norman and McIntosh were detained in the “Bounty” against their Will—Have you reason to believe that any other of the Prisoners were detained against their Inclinations?—I believe Mr. Heywood was, I thought all along he was intending to come away—I did not think anything else—he had no Arms and he assisted to get the Boat out and then went below.

Have you any other reason which induces you to think that Mr. Heywood was detained contrary to his Will?—I heard Churchill call out, “Keep them below”—who he meant I do not know.

Do you think he meant Heywood?—I have no reason to think any other.

You have said that you did not see any of the Prisoners shew marks of disapprobation of what was going on—What was the Cause of Coleman, Norman, and Michael Byrn’s crying as you have represented them to be?—They wanted to come away; as to Byrn I do not know why he was crying. I suppose for no other reason he was blind he could not see, to my knowledge.

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What was Thomas Burkitt's particular situation at the time you saw him on the Deck?—He was on the Starboard Side of the Quarter Deck, just abreast of the wheel; he had his musquet Shouldered, to the best of my Knowledge, and there he was standing.

When you awakened Morrison, Millward, McIntosh and George Simpson what did they first do when they went upon Deck?—Millward was ordered to take a Musquet and he went Aft—the other three were clearing the Boat of the Yams.

How long was it from the time Mr. Heywood quitted the Tackle fall and went below until you was forced into the Boat?—I suppose it may be twenty Minutes or half an Hour.

Did you see any of the Prisoners employed in forcing Mr. Bligh into the Boat or were any of them under Arms at that particular time?—I was in the Boat alongside and cannot tell who forced him in.

In consequence of Churchill's calling out to Millward, "Damn you, come up, here is a Musquet ready for you," did Millward make any objections to going upon Deck or taking the Musquet?—Not to my Knowlege.

You have said that Coleman, Norman and McIntosh assisted at the Tackle fall in getting the Launch out; did you suppose they meant to be of use to Captain Bligh and to accompany him in the Boat or that they were well disposed to the Mutineers and wished to get rid of their Captain?—I believe they wished to go with him.

Do you suppose that Peter Heywood acted from the same motive when he assisted at the Tackle fall?—I had no reason to think otherwise; he assisted at the Tackle fall.

Where about was Muspratt when you saw him under Arms?—Just abaft the Fore Hatchway.

Did he appear to be Centinel over any particular Person or Part of the Ship?—No.

The Witness withdrew.

At four o'Clock the Court adjourned till to-Morrow Morning,
nine o'Clock.

Thursday, 13th September, 1792.

The Court met according to Adjournment.

Mr. WILLIAM COLE called in again.

Examined by the COURT—Who were the People that forced Mr. Bligh into the Boat?—I cannot tell. I was in the Boat, I could not see.

Cross-examined by MICHAEL BYRN—When the large Cutter was hoisted out, who was the Person that throwed the Fall out of her, and hooked on the fore Stay Tackle?—I do not remember.

When the Orders were given to hoist her out did you look down the Hatchway, and see three or four People sitting abreast the Starboard Cable Tier?—No; I see Norton, the Man who was killed, who was getting out of his Hammock and putting his Cloaths on, and I believe the Cook was there.

Do you remember ordering any Person to hook the Tackle on?—Not in Particular.

Did you call to the People then below, to come up and lend a hand to hoist the Cutter out?—I do not know, but I may have done so.

When the Cutter was out did you order me to stay in her, to keep her from thumping against the Ship?—I do not remember. I told him to haul her ahead when the Launch was going over the side.

When Mr. Purcell and you came out of the Cockpit on the first Alarm did you perceive any one sitting on a Chest on the Forehatchway?—I do not remember.

Did no one Speak to you and Mr. Purcell in the Forehatchway?—He may, but I do not remember.

When you and Mr. Purcell came up did I not say the People are in Arms and the Captain's a Prisoner?—I do not remember seeing him, he may be there; he is a Person whom I should take very little Notice of on such an Occasion, being nearly blind.

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Cross-examined by JAMES MORRISON—Do you recollect, when I came upon Deck after you called me out of my Hammock, that I came to you abaft the Windlass, and said, “ Mr. Cole, what is to be done? ” and that your Answer was, “ By God, James, I do not know, but go and help them with the Cutter? ”—Yes, I do remember it.

Do you remember that in Consequence of your Order I went about clearing the Cutter?—Yes.

Do you remember that I did haul a Towline and Grapnel out of the Main hold and put them into the Boat?—I remember such Things being in the Boat, but who put them in I cannot tell.

Do you remember calling me to assist you to hoist a Cask of Water out of the Hold, and at the same time threatening John Norton, the Quarter Master, that he should not go in the Boat if he was not more Attentive in getting the Things into her?—I remember telling *Norton* that, for he was frightened out of his Wits, and I have every reason to believe that *Morrison* was employed on that Business.

Do you recollect that I came to you when you was getting your own Things which were tied up in part of your Bedding, into the Boat, and telling you that the Boat was then overloaded, and that Captain Bligh had begged that no more People should go into her, and that in consequence of that I would take my Chance in the Ship, and that you then shook me by the Hand and said, “ God bless you, my Boy, I will do you justice if ever I reach England ”?—I remember shaking Hands with him and he telling me that he would take his Chance in the Ship. I had no other Reason to believe, but that he was intending to quit the Ship. I do not remember the whole of our Conversation; I may have said that I would do him Justice when I got to England—I make no doubt but I did.

Was my Conduct such during the Voyage and particularly on that Day, as to give you reason to suppose that I was concerned in the Mutiny?—I had no reason to suppose it.

By the COURT—Did you hear Morrison, the Prisoner, say that Captain Bligh had desired that no other Men might come into the Boat, as she was deeply Laden already?—I

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remember taking him by the Hand, but from the Confusion I do not remember the Conversation.

Did you at that time believe that the Prisoner Morrison would have gone with you into the Boat, if it had not been apprehended that the Boat was too deeply laden?—I had no reason else but to believe it; he was giving his Attention, and whatever I told him to do he obeyed it.

What was the Prisoner *Morrison* doing when you desired him to clear the Cutter?—To the best of my Knowledge, he was standing upon the Booms.

Doing nothing?—No—he was just come up then.

You have said that Morrison assisted in getting out that Boat; did you consider all those that assisted in getting out that Boat to be of the Captain's Party?—No, some were under Arms.

Do you consider those who were not under Arms at that time to have been of the Captain's Party?—I certainly did think that they had no hand in the Mutiny.

Do you think that all Mr. Christian's Party were entrusted with Arms?—I do not know, because some of them took up Arms afterwards. Mr. Young came upon Deck with a Musquet.

Name those whom you saw take up Arms afterwards?—Mr. Young and Muspratt, after the first Boat was hoisted out.

Did you on that Day consider the Prisoner Morrison as a Person that was awed by the People under Arms to assist in hoisting the Boat out, or did you consider him as one that was aiding and assisting them in their Design?—I do not think he seemed to be much in Awe of the People—I do not think he was aiding and assisting them in their Design.

Did you hear the Prisoner James Morrison express any Desire to come into the Boat, and was he prevented from so doing?—He did not express a Desire to me, nor was he prevented that I know.

Cross-examined by THOMAS ELLISON—Are you certain when you came upon Deck and looked round you, whether it was I who was Armed, or the Man who stood before me, as I stood at the Wheel?—To the best of my knowledge, I thought he was under Arms; there were four on the Quarter

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Deck who were under Arms: Thomas Ellison, John Mills, Isaac Martin, and Thomas Burkitt.

Are you certain whether it was me or not, as I was then a Boy, and scarcely able to lift a Musquet at that time?—He stood by Captain Bligh the best Part of the time on the Quarter Deck with a Musquet and I believe there was a Bayonet fixed.

In what Position did I stand at that time?—I cannot tell.

Cross-examined by THOMAS BURKITT—When you came aft to get the Compass out of the Binnacle on the Starboard side of the Quarter Deck, did not Matthew Quintal come and say he would be damned if you should have it; you said, then, "Quintal, it is very hard you'l not let us have a Compass, when there is plenty more in the Store Room," then did you not look hard at me, and did I say, "Quintal, let Mr. Cole have it, or anything else that will be of Service to him?"—I know that Quintal objected to let the Compass go, and I said, "It is very hard when there are nine conditioned Compasses below," but I do not remember that Burkitt said anything, but he was standing up there. I do not remember what passed; the Confusion was so great that it was impossible that I could take notice of every thing particularly.

Do you recollect seeing me that Morning during the time that you say I was under Arms—giving any Orders, or hear me make use of any bad Language or laugh, or make Game of any Person whatever?—I do not; I only observed he was under Arms, and when Mr. Peckover asked for some Cloaths, Burkitt got it for him.

Do you recollect my coming aft, after the Boat was veered astern, and asking if any body wanted any things that I could get them, and Mr. Peckover told me to get his Pocket Book out of his Cabin and likewise some Cloaths?—I cannot charge my Memory, whether he asked if any body wanted any thing or not—but he brought the Cloaths.

Cross-examined by JOHN MILLWARD—Can you positively say whether I took the Musket according to Churchill's orders?—I do not know whether it was by Churchill's Orders or not he took the Musquet.

Do you recollect speaking to me as I stood by the Wind-

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lass, when you came up the Fore Hatchway, and asked me what I was doing, and my telling you, “nothing,” and your telling me to lend a Hand to clear the large Cutter?—No.

By the COURT—Were all the People who were put into the Boat bound, or were they at liberty in going into her?—They were not, but they marched them who were below up with Centinels at different times.

Were there no other Arms in the Ship but those in the Arm Chest in the Main Hatchway?—Not to my knowledge.

Was it Burkitt’s Watch upon Deck in the Morning after the Mutiny?—To the best of my knowledge it was.

Was it Muspratt’s?—I do not know whether he was watched at all or not.

What duty did he do?—I believe he assisted the Cook.

Was it Ellison’s Watch on Deck?—To the best of my knowledge, he was in that Watch.

Was it Norman’s?—I do not remember what Watch he was in.

Was it Byrn’s?—I do not think it was.

Was he upon Deck at the time you first came up?—I do not remember.

Was it Coleman’s Watch upon Deck?—No.

Was he upon Deck when you first came up?—I did not see him at first.

At what time did the Day break on that morning?—I suppose about a quarter before 5 o’Clock or half past 4; I cannot recollect exactly.

Cross-examined by MICHAEL BYRN—When you were in the Boat and all the People, did you not hear me speaking to some of the Men who were forward in the Launch’s Bow as I was in the large Cutter’s stern?—I do not remember;—you may.

Did you ever hear any of the People in the Launch say that I had spoke to them?—Yes, I believe I have heard Mr. Purcell say so.

Did you hear nobody else say so?—I do not remember.

The Witness withdrew.

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Mr. WILLIAM PECKOVER, Gunner of the "Antelope," but late of the "Bounty," called in and sworn.

Examined by the COURT—Inform the Court of all the Circumstances within your Knowledge respecting His Majesty's Armed Vessel "Bounty" being run away with?—I was awaked out of my Sleep by a confused Noise; directly after, I thought I heard the fixing of Bayonets. I jumped out, and put my Trowsers on; at the Door I met Mr. Nelson the Botanist, who told me that the Ship was taken from us; my Answer was we were a long way from Land. When I came off the Deck Mr. Nelson answered, "It is by our own People and Mr. Christian at their head"—or "has got the command," I don't know which—"but we know whose fault it is," or, "we know who is to blame"—I do not know which of those Expressions it was; I made Answer, "Let us go forward and see what is to be done." Going to the Hatchway, trying to get up, we were stopped by John Sumner and Matthew Quintal with fixed Bayonets down the Hatchway, who said, "Mr. Peckover, you must come up, we have Mutinied and taken the Ship, and Mr. Christian has got the Command"; those were the Words to the best of my Knowledge. In a short time after Mr. Samuel came up, and told us that he was going away in the small Cutter with Captain Bligh, Mr. Hayward, Mr. Hallet and himself, and advised with me what he should take with him. I told him that if I was in his Place, I should take but very few things, upon which he put a few Shirts and Stockings in a Pillow Case; some short time after, Mr. Fryer came down to my Cabbin he asked me what I meant to do for the best. [I replied] that I wished to get Home if I possibly could, for by staying behind we should be reckoned as Pirates, if we should ever be taken. He told me something about Captain Bligh, but what I can't say, and that he himself would be answerable for that, and he was ordered upon Deck just at this time. I was a long while down before I was ordered up, and when I came upon Deck I saw Captain Bligh, and Mr. Christian standing alongside of him with a naked Bayonet. I saw Burkitt in Arms on the Quarter Deck—John Mills, I can't say whether he was in Arms or not, but he had got a Cartouch Box bound round him. I asked Mr. Christian to [let me] go down

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forward to get some things out of my Chest; his Answer was, "Have you got no things down aft?" I told him, "No, only a few," and I stepped to the Gangway and went over the side; there was a Centry at the Gangway, but who, I cannot say. I saw Muspratt forward upon the Forecastle, he seemed to me as if he was about something in the Wood, he was not under Arms or in the Act of Splitting Wood. I saw three or four more People there, whose Names I do not recollect, nor do I know whether they were under Arms or not. Then I went down into the Boat; the Centry saw me down; then I believe there was about ten or twelve in the Boat. The Cutter was lying alongs'de with Michael Byrn in her. In about four or five Minutes after this, the remainder with Mr. Bligh came into the Boat; a short time after they veered her astern with the Hauser, whilst we were lying under the Stern, Thomas Burkitt came and asked me if I wanted anything. I told him I had only what I stood in, a Shirt, and a pair of Trowsers; he told me if I would send my Keys up, he would go and get me some Cloaths. I told him that I had lost them, or dropped them overboard. He made me some Answer, which I do not remember, but told me that he would go and get me some; he was gone a short time, about 8 or 10 Minutes, and returned with a Handkerchief and different Cloaths, and threw them into the Boat; one more whom I don't know went down into my Cabbin and got me some more Cloaths. Coleman called to me over the Stern and beg'd that I would call upon a friend at Greenwich and acquaint him of the matter; then he said that he wished to come in the Boat. Mr. Cole at different times asked Captain Bligh to cast the Boat off, or cast her loose, that he was rather dubious of their firing into us. I cannot say the Answer that Captain Bligh made him, but the Boat was cast adrift, but by whom I can't tell.

Were you upon Deck any considerable time, before you were put into the Boat?—I suppose three Minutes would exceed the time.

Was you carried upon the Quarter Deck?—No.

In what part of the Ship did you spend those three Minutes?—I believe I was upon the Combings of the after Hatchway.

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Did you see Christian?—Yes.

Where was he?—On the Starboard side of the Quarter Deck.

Could you distinguish every body upon the Quarter Deck from the Combings of the Hatchway upon which you stood?—By looking round I could, except those that were in the Wake of the Mizen Mast.

Could you see any Persons that were not below that were in any other Part of the Ship?—All except those who were where the Pigs were stowed, as there was a Platform over them—on the Starboard side I could.

What hindered you from seeing on the Larboard side?—The Main Mast—I don't doubt but I looked round there, but I saw nobody if I did.

Were there any Centinels over you, during the whole time you were upon Deck?—I don't remember any—the two Centinels who were over us were at the bottom of the Ladder.

Were you placed on the Combings of the Hatchway by the Centinels, or were you at liberty to stand in any part of the Ship?—I was not at liberty to stand in any other part of the Ship—Mr. Christian desired me to go into the Boat; he told me that the Boat was alongside, and that Captain Bligh was just agoing in.

What number of Men did you see under Arms, in any Part of the Ship?—Thomas Burkitt; John Mills with a Car-touche Box round him, but whether he was under Arms or not I won't pretend to say; Christian had a Bayonet in his Hand; the two Centinels who were below, John Sumner and Matthew Quintal.

Are you sure that you saw no other Person under Arms, but those which you have mentioned?—No more than what I have already mentioned.

Name them over again?—Christian, Burkitt, Sumner, Quintal.

Where were the Arms of the Ship kept?—All in a Chest upon the Main Gratings.

Was the Arm Chest usually kept locked?—Yes—with the Keys in the Master's Cabbin.

How long was it from the time that you first heard of the

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Mr William Peckover

Mutiny till you went into the Boat?—I suppose it might be about two hours, or two hours and a half.

How many People did the Ship's Company of the "Bounty" consist of?—Forty-three, I believe, at that time.⁵

How many of those did you consider were concerned in the Mutiny?—Four or five.

Was it your opinion that four People took the Ship from nine and thirty?—Not by any means.

Give your reasons to the Court for thinking so?—There certainly must be more concerned, or they could not have taken the Ship from us; those that I mentioned were all that I saw under Arms when I came upon Deck.

What were your particular reasons for submitting, when you saw but four Men under Arms?—I came naked upon the Quarter Deck with only my Trowsers on, and there I saw Burkitt with a Musquet and Bayonet, and Christian alongside of Captain Bligh, and the Centry on the Gangway, but who he was I do not know.

Did you expostulate with Mr. Christian on his Conduct?—I did not.

Did you go with the Centinels who were over you?—I reasoned with them below, but to no purpose.

Was any Force used towards you, to put you into the Boat?—The Centries see me up and Burkitt, as I mentioned before, upon the Quarter Deck, and Mr. Christian ordered me to go into the Boat.

Did you on that day see Joseph Coleman?—Yes.

Did he appear to be under Arms?—No.

What was he doing when you saw him?—Looking over the Stern.

Did you see Peter Heywood, the Midshipman, on that day?—No.

Did you see Michael Byrn?—Yes.

At what time did you see him?—Nearly 8 o'Clock.

Was he under Arms?—No, he was in the Boat alongside.

Did you see James Morrison?—No.

Did you see Charles Norman?—Yes.

Was he under Arms when you saw him?—No.

What was he doing?—Looking over the Stern.

⁵ Actually, the number was 44.

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Mr William Peckover

Did you consider him at that time as one of the Mutineers?
—No.

Did you see Thomas Ellison?—No.

Did you see Thomas McIntosh?—Yes, he was looking over the Stern.

Did you consider him as one of the Mutineers?—No.

Did you see William Muspratt?—Yes.

Was he under Arms, when you saw him and what was he doing?—No. He was forward upon the Forecastle.

Did he appear to be obeying the Orders of Mr. Christian?
—He was doing nothing, he was standing upon the Forecastle.

Did you see John Millward that Day?—Yes.

Was he under Arms when you saw him?—Not to my Knowledge.

Did you consider him as one of the Mutineers?—It is impossible to say, he was not under Arms.

Was he one of those People who awed you to go into the Boat?—No.

You say you saw Joseph Coleman looking over the Stern, did you consider him as one of the Mutineers?—No.

You saw Michael Byrn in the Cutter; did you consider him as one of the Mutineers?—No.

In the former part of your Evidence you have said, that you were put into the Boat by the Centinel—Do you know who that Centinel was?—No.

Was there a Centinel on the Gangway as you went over the Ship's side?—There was, but I can't say what his Name was, and he must have been under Arms at the same time. I cannot be upon Oath, whether he was under Arms or not.

In what Situation was Byrn in the Cutter when you saw him?—To the best of my knowledge, he was standing in the Cutter. I don't remember whether he was about anything or not.

Did he seem to be in sorrow?—He did.

Did you see Norman when he looked over the Stern as you have before described call out to any Person in the Boat?
—I do not recollect.

What are your reasons for believing that Coleman,

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Norman, McIntosh, and Byrn were averse to the Mutiny?—I often heard Captain Bligh mention it in the Launch.

But what was your own Observation?—That when they were upon the Stern they appeared to wish to come into the Boat, what slight sight I had of them—I was busy about moving the Things in the Boat that I do not recollect only Coleman calling to me.

In the former part of your Evidence in Conversation with Mr. Nelson, the Botanist, he said to you that you knew whose fault it was, or Words to that effect—do you apprehend that Mr. Nelson alluded to any of the Prisoners?—No—it is impossible to judge what he meant.⁶

Do you know whether any of the thirty nine People, who you say were not of the Mutiny or under Arms, attempted to relieve Captain Bligh?—No.

Or if they attempted to accompany him into the Boat?—I also understood, Joseph Coleman, McIntosh, and Norman, that they wished to come into the Boat; this is only what I heard Captain Bligh say.

Those Men who remained in the Ship, did you believe them to be of Mr. Christian's Party, except Coleman, Norman, McIntosh, and Byrn?—We had every reason to suppose so.⁷

Do you know whether Burkitt had the Watch upon Deck, on the Morning of the Mutiny?—Yes, he had.

Was Muspratt one of the Watch on that Morning?—I believe he was not in a Watch, he was in a Galley.

Was it Ellison's Watch upon Deck?—I believe it was; I can't say, he was not in my Watch.

Had Norman that Watch?—I believe he was; he was not in mine.

Had Coleman and Byrn that Watch?—I am not certain. Byrn was, I think.

Where was Millward at the time you saw him?—Looking over the Stern.

In what Watch did Mr. Heywood, the Prisoner, do his Duty?—In the first Watch, with Mr. Fryer.

⁶ The witness probably knew very well that Nelson meant Bligh. A passage in Fryer's Journal, recording a similar remark of Nelson's, makes this clear.

⁷ But in cross-examination the witness stated that he did not include Heywood, *vide* p. 152.

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Cross-examined by JAMES MORRISON—Do you recollect when you was in the Boat astern of the Ship, that I did hand over the Cutlasses and five or six and twenty Pieces of Pork, two large Gourds of Water, and a ball of Spunyarn to sling the Mast alongside the Boat?—No.

Did you ever observe anything in my Conduct that would lead you to think I was concerned in the Mutiny?—No.

Cross-examined by THOMAS BURKITT—Did you see me when you came upon Deck offer to force you or anybody else into the Boat, or use any bad Expressions or make Game of any one Person in the Boat?—No further than standing there with a Musquet and Bayonet fixed.

Did ever my Conduct during the Voyage and during the five Months that I was with you as a Centinel at Otaheite before that Morning give you reason to suspect that I was a ringleader in the Mutiny?—Not in the least.

By the COURT—Who were Mr. Christian’s Messmates?—Mr. Elphinstone, Mr. Young, Mr. Hallet and Mr. Ledward, the Surgeon’s Mate, and Robert Tinkler.

When he relieved you at 4 o’Clock in the Morning, did you observe anything particular in his Conduct, or in his Manner?—No.

Were there any Centinels usually placed on board the “Bounty” in any part of the Ship at Sea?—No.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. PURCELL, Carpenter of the “Bounty,” called in and sworn.

Examined by the COURT—Inform the Court of all the Circumstances within your Knowledge respecting His Majesty’s Ship “Bounty” being run away with?—On the Morning of the Mutiny, the 28th. of April, I think Matthew Quintal, Seaman, came down to my Cabbin and awaked me, and said, “Mr. Purcell, you and Mr. Coleman^s go on deck and do as you think proper, for we have Mutinied and taken the Ship, and Mr. Christian has the Command—the Captain is confined; all resistance will be in vain; if you attempt it you are a Dead Man.” I then called Mr. Cole and went

^s ? Cole.

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up the Hatchway and saw Thompson standing Centry armed in the Main Hatchway. Mr. Heywood, the Prisoner, and Mr. Stewart were in their Birth abreast of the Main Hatchway on the Larboard Side. John Williams came down the Forehatchway Armed and accompanied us upon Deck—when I saw Captain Bligh with his Hands lashed behind him, standing on the Quarter Deck, and Mr. Christian standing over him with a naked Bayonet, and seeing the small Cutter alongside, I asked Alexr. Smith what they meant to do. He answd. they meant to put the Captain, Mr. Hayward, Mr. Hallett, and Mr. Samuel into her to put the Captain on shore. I then told Mr. Christian I hoped he would not send anybody in that Boat, as her Bottom being eaten out by the Worms; she would not swim to the Land. There was an Altercation took place between Christian, Churchill and some others, concerning whether they should suffer another Boat to be hoisted out, which being determined, Mr. Christian ordered me to get the large Cutter ready. I hesitated obeying his orders, when he immediately said, “Do you get the Boat ready directly.” Mr. Cole was then gone down below to turn those People which were in their Hammocks upon Deck. I then called McIntosh and Norman, two of the Prisoners, and desired them to go down to my Storeroom and hand the Knees and Geer Bolts etc. of the Cutter up, to get her ready for hoisting out, which they immediately complied with; in the Interim we were clearing the Cutter of the Yams, and Cocanuts, and other Lumber that were in her. When we got her ready she was ordered to be hoisted out by Mr. Christian; being hoisted out, Mr. Cole and I went aft to Mr. Christian to intercede for the Launch, when I asked Mr. Christian if he meant to turn us adrift in the Boat, to let us have the Launch and not make a Sacrifice of us, as I had done nothing to be either ashamed or afraid of, and would wish to see my native Country. He then ordered Mr. Cole to hoist her out, but to be careful he carried nothing away. The Boat being hoisted out, I went down to my Cabbin in order to procure such Things as I thought would be useful. I desired McIntosh and Norman to fill a Bucket of Nails of different sizes, and hand a cross-cut and whip Saw out of the Storeroom, which they did. I then got my Cloaths Chest, put a Looking Glass and several

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other Articles into it, got it upon Deck and into the Launch. We then got up several Boats' Sails, a lower Studding Sail, Twine, Remnants of Canvas, and several other Articles. I then went and asked Mr. Christian for my Tool Chest, Whip, and Cross cut saw, which after much Altercation he granted, after Churchill the Master at Arms had opposed it, and had taken such Things as he thought proper out of it. Prior to this, I had been down to Mr. Fryer's Cabbín, when he desired me to ask Christian to let him come on Deck; when he came on Deck, he and Captain Bligh had some Discourse, but I was not near enough to hear it. Alexr. Smith, one of the Mutineers who was Armed, desired me not to come aft. Mr. Fryer then addressed Churchill and three or four others that were upon the Quarter Deck at the time Armed who were Alexander Smith, Isaac Martin, John Mills, Thomas Ellison the Prisoner, Thomas Burkitt the Prisoner, desiring them in the Name of God to lay down their Arms, what they were about, and if the Captain had done anything to confine him—when Churchill replied, “No, Damn you, you ought to have done that Months ago,” and used a great deal of other abusive Language to the Captain. Mr. Fryer was then ordered down to his Cabbín. The Captain attempting to speak, Mr. Christian replied, “Hold your Tongue and I'll not hurt you; it is too late to consider now, I have been in Hell for weeks past with you.” I then went forward to get what Necessaries were handed upon Deck into the Boat. I went then into the Boat myself to stow them, my Chest and several other Articles. Martin, one of the Mutineers, came into the Boat with a Bag; I asked him what he did there; he said he was going in the Boat; I replied if ever we get to England, I'll endeavour to hang you myself. Quintal and Churchill hearing of me, immediately presented their Pieces and desired him to come out of the Boat, which he did. The People were then collecting together to get into the Boat. Mr. Christian not being determined whether he would keep me, several of them opposed my going in the Boat, expressing that I should be the last to leave the Ship, if they had their Wills, who should be suffered to go out of her, and that they might as well give us the Ship as to suffer us to take

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Tools, for we should have another Vessel in a Month. I then went into the Boat to receive a Cask of Water—some empty Beakers, the Captain's Case, and several other Articles that were handed into the Boat. We were then all of us ordered to get into the Boat, and veered astern, after using a great deal of abusive Language by the People in general to the Captain, threatening to blow his Brains out; after we were under the Stern they called for the Boatswain's Call, and hove us up some Pieces of Pork and Gourds of Water in Lieu, and they chucked Mr. Peckover some Cloaths, and several other Articles were thrown into the Boat. Mr. Cole asked the Captain if he should cast off the Boat, as some of the People were talking of firing into her; which the Captain gave orders for, when we quitted the Ship, keeping right Astern to prevent her Guns from bearing on us, being nineteen People. When the Boat left the Ship she had about $7\frac{1}{2}$ Inches Amidships above water.

Was Churchill under Arms?—Yes.

Was Quintal under Arms?—Yes.

Was Sumner under Arms?—Yes. The People mentioned in this List were under Arms—Christian, Mills, Skinner, Martin, Alexr. Smith, Quintal, Williams, Thompson, McKoy, Brown, Ellison the Prisoner, Burkitt the Prisoner, Millward the Prisoner, Young, Churchill, Sumner, and Hilbrant. Those were the Persons that I saw under Arms at the different Times. I forgot to mention a Circumstance, respecting one of the Prisoners, Millward; when Mr. Cole turned the Hands up that were in their Hammocks, Millward came up and said to me, “ Mr. Purcell, I assure you I know nothing of this Business, but as I had a hand in the former Foolish Affair, I suppose they will oblige me, or force me,” (I am not positive which were the Words) “ to be concerned in this.”

When you came upon Deck did you see any one of the Prisoners?—I did.

Did you see Mr. Heywood?—No.

Had you any Conversation with him?—Not at that time.

At any other time?—Yes.

Did you see Mr. Heywood standing upon the Booms?—Yes.

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Mr Purcell

Had he a Cutlass in his Hand?—He was leaning the Flat Part of his Hand on a Cutlass on the Booms, when I exclaimed, “In the Name of God, Peter, what do you do with that?” when he instantly dropped it. One or two of the People had previous to that laid down their Cutlasses, being Armed with Cutlasses and Pistols, to assist in hoisting the Launch out.

Do you know what Number of Men laid down their Arms to assist in hoisting the Boat out?—One or two—their Cutlasses, but not their Pistols.

Did Mr. Heywood assist in hoisting the Boat out?—Yes.

What number of Men did you see with Pistols?—About four with Pistols and Cutlasses, the rest were Armed with Musquets and Bayonets—their Bayonets fixed.

Do you recollect seeing any of the other Prisoners on Deck?—Yes I saw them all on Deck.

Had you Conversation with any of them?—No, except what I have related.

Relate to the Court what you remember of Coleman on that Day?—I remember his assisting in getting the Boats ready, and handing the Things into the Boat after she was hoisted out, and wanting to come with us—but was not suffered by the Mutineers, and his desiring me to take notice that he had no hand in the Conspiracy.

Relate to the Court all you know of Mr. Heywood’s Conduct on that Day from the beginning of the Mutiny until you left the Ship?—When I came upon Deck he was in his Birth; I did not see him on Deck until the Launch was ordered to be hoisted out, when he was standing on the Booms resting his Hand on a Cutlass—I exclaimed, “in the Name of God, Peter, what do you do with that?” when he instantly dropped it and assisted in hoisting the Launch out and handing the Things into the Boat, my Chest and all the other Articles, and then went down below, when I heard Churchill call to Thompson to keep them below, but could not tell whom he meant. I did not see Mr. Heywood after that.

Did Mr. Heywood hand any of his own Things into the Boat?—Not to my knowledge; I can’t tell.

What do you know of Michael Byrn?—The first thing I observed of him was his being in the large Cutter to keep

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her from the side, in which Situation he remained when we left the Ship, but was crying and said if he was with us he could be of no manner of Service to us—he being Blind; he was not Armed.

Relate all you remember of the Conduct and Behaviour of Morrison on that Day?—The first I saw of Morrison was when Mr. Cole went down to turn the Hands up, who were in their Hammocks. I do not remember his being Armed, but I saw him assist in hoisting the Launch out.

Did you hear any Conversation between him and Mr. Fryer?—I did not.

Did he appear to you at that time to be in League with the Mutineers?—No.

Relate all you remember of Norman?—I called him out of his Hammock and ordered him to go and fetch the Boat's Knees and Geer, which he did, he then gave me every assistance during the whole Transaction that laid in his Power, and was crying when we came away, and desired me to take Notice that he had no Hand in the Conspiracy.

Relate all you recollect of Ellison?—When I came on Deck, he was standing near the Gangway on the Larboard Side, Armed with a Musquet and Bayonet; in that Situation he was during the whole time to the best of my Knowledge in different parts of the Ship.

Had you any Conversation with him?—None.

Relate all you know respecting McIntosh?—I called him out of his Hammock, desiring him to go with Norman, down to the Storeroom, to get the Boat's Knees and Geer, which he did, and gave me every Assistance during the whole Transaction as laid in his Power, and desired me to take Notice that he had no hand in the Conspiracy.

Relate what you know respecting Muspratt?—I can't Charge my Memory with any particular Circumstance respecting Muspratt. I do not remember seeing him in Arms. I saw him once handing some of the Captain's, or Mr. Fryer's Things up, and I think he handed some Liquor up to the Ship's Company.

Do you mean that was at the time the Dram was ordered?—Yes.

Relate everything you remember of Thomas Burkitt?—

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When I came on Deck, Burkitt was standing by the Windlass, Armed with a Musquet and Bayonet, and he soon afterwards went aft on the Quarter Deck; to the best of my knowledge was there during the whole of the Transaction, still in Arms.

Did Thomas Burkitt make any Answer to the Master, when he desired him and the other Men that were Armed abaft for God’s sake to lay down their Arms?—Not as I heard.

Relate all you remember of Millward’s Behaviour?—When I came on Deck Millward was one of those People that were in their Hammocks, which Mr. Cole turned up; when he came on the Booms he said, “Mr. Purcell, I assure you I know nothing of this Business, but as I had a hand in the former foolish Affair I suppose they will oblige me, or force me,”—I can’t positively say which—“to take a part in this.” I saw Millward afterwards down the after Ladder by Mr. Fryer’s Cabin Armed with a Musquet, but don’t recollect his having a Bayonet fixed in it; I don’t recollect seeing him afterwards until we were in the Boat, when I saw him look over the Taffrail but can’t tell whether he was Armed or not.

When you all went into the Boat, was there any Centry at the Gangway?—Yes.

Who was that Centry?—Matthew Quintal and Richard Skinner were standing by the Gangway Armed, but I can’t say that they were placed as Centinels.

Were you forced into the Boat suddenly, or did it take up some time for every body to go in?—I don’t think it was more than ten Minutes from the time the Things were in the Boat.

Was it generally known throughout the Ship that the Boat was going to put off?—I think it must be, as we were a long time collecting the Necessaries that were to go in the Boat.

Did you hear any body call out that they wished to go in her, except those you have already named?—I can’t say that I did.

Did Norman and M’Intosh shew any Disposition or express a Wish to do any thing to recover the King’s Ship?—No.

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Did you propose any such thing to them?—No.

Did any one of the other Prisoners shew any such Disposition, or express such Wish?—No.

In what light did you look upon Mr. Heywood at the time you say he drop'd the Cutlass upon your speaking to him?—I looked upon him as a person confused and that he did not know that he had the Weapon in his Hand, or his Hand being on it, for it was not in his Hand.

What reason had you for supposing that he was so confused, as not to know that his Hand was on it?—By his instantly dropping it and assisting in hoisting the Boat out, which convinced me, in my own Mind, that he had no hand in the Conspiracy.

Were there any People Armed near Mr. Heywood at that time?—I don't recollect there were.

After the Launch was hoisted out, you have said Mr. Heywood went below, and you saw no more of him; did he of your Knowledge go below of his own Accord or was he compelled to go below by any of the Mutineers?—I think he went by his own Accord, in order to collect some of his Things to put into the Boat.

How long was it after the Launch was hoisted out before she went from the Ship?—I think it must be near two Hours.

Do you think then that Mr. Heywood was so long employed in collecting his Things as you have before supposed?—No, he was assisting me and the rest, to get the Necessaries into the Boat, which I suppose prevented him from collecting any thing of his own until that time.

You have just said that you saw nothing more of Mr. Heywood after he went below; did he go below immediately after the Boat was hoisted out?—No.

How long did the Launch remain alongside after Mr. Heywood did go below?—I can't be positive, but it could not be but a very short time, ten Minutes or a Quarter of an hour.

Were the Booms of the "Bounty" above the Deck?—They were off the Deck on Chocks.

When you represent Mr. Heywood to have been leaning his Hand on a Cutlass, was that Cutlass leaning against it, or supported by anything else?—I can't be positive as the Booms were full of Lumber.

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Describe the Position in which he was standing with the Cutlass?—He was leaning his Hand on it open; it might be supported on some of the Lumber, as we had a deal upon the Booms at that time.

Do you upon the Solemn Oath you have taken, believe that Mr. Heywood by being Armed with a Cutlass at the time you have mentioned, by any thing that you could collect from his Gestures or Speeches, had any intention of Opposing or joining others that might Oppose to stop the Progress of the Mutiny?—No.

Except the Cutlass, upon which you saw the Hand of Mr. Heywood, did you see any Cutlasses upon the Deck, other than those which were in the Hands of the Mutineers?—I can't say that I did at that time; once I think I saw one of the People lay his Cutlass down for a short time, while he assisted to hoist the Launch out.

Do you know whether any of the Mutineers took notice of Mr. Heywood's having a Cutlass?—No.

Have you any reason to believe that the Cutlass you saw in the Possession of the Prisoner Mr. Heywood was placed upon the Booms accidentally and that he did not furnish himself with it?—I have reason to think he did not furnish himself with it.

What is your Reason?—As Thompson was standing over the Arm Chest, and Mr. Heywood in his Birth, had he meant to have Armed himself, he certainly might have done it before I came upon Deck.

Was the Arm Chest near Mr. Heywood's Birth?—It stood directly in the Centre of the Main Hatchway, between the two Births, at the Aft part of the Birth.

Did you go upon Deck before the Prisoner Heywood or after him?—Before him; he was in his Birth when I went on Deck.

Did you see him leave his Birth and go upon Deck?—No.

Can you say then that he might not have carried the Cutlass upon Deck with him?—I have reasons to think he did not.

What Reason?—As Thompson was Centry over the Arm Chest, and knew Mr. Cole and I was not of the Conspiracy,

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and knew Mr. Heywood was in his Birth and did not attempt to Arm himself before he went upon Deck, he must certainly have suspected that Mr. Heywood wanted to procure Arms to assist us in the retaking of the Ship.

Supposing it possible that Mr. Heywood being inclined to join in the Mutiny, would he have Armed himself before you and Mr. Cole?—I should have supposed not, as he might have Armed himself before we were called up, as Thompson was Centry over the Arm chest and he in his Birth at the time I went upon Deck, had he any Intention of being with the Party of Mutineers.

From the afterpart of the Midshipmen's Birth forward, was there any other Centry except Thompson?—There were two more when I went upon Deck, the Man who accompanied me up and called me up; Quintal and John Williams came to the foot of the lower Deck Ladder and followed us up.

Did you see Mr. Heywood in his Birth previous to your going upon Deck?—I saw him in his Birth as I was going up the Cockpit Ladder in company with Mr. Cole; I will not be positive whether he was sitting or lying over his Hammock; his Hammock was hanging at the time.

Had you any Conversation with him?—No.

Did you know at that time whether he knew of the Mutiny then in the Ship?—I think he must, as the Centry was over the Arm Chest close to their Birth; whether the Centry was over the Arm Chest or their Birth I can't tell, as it was between both Births.

Did the Centry or any other Person prevent his going upon Deck [with] the Boatswain, had he shewn an Inclination so to do?—I can't tell.

Did you see anybody oppose it?—I did not.

When you say Mr. Heywood dropt the Cutlass, did it fall down upon his taking his Hands from it, or did he lay it down?—I think it did fall, to the best of my Knowledge he did not lay it down.

Do you think that the Mutineers noticed Mr. Heywood having the Cutlass in his Hand the manner you have described?—I don't know, as I was busy myself to get the Boat out, that I had not time to make any Observations at that time.

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Would they have permitted you, the Master, or any well-disposed Person to the Captain, to have touched a Cutlass?—I can't tell, as they were Armed with Pistols, but I should imagine not.

Did it appear to you after they got Possession of the Ship that they were Careless of their Arms?—No, by no means, except in that Instance of assisting to hoist the Boat out.

In the time that Mr. Heywood was assisting you to get the Things into the Boat, did he in any degree whatever manifest a Disposition to assist in the Mutiny?—No.

Was he during that time deliberate or frightened, and in what manner did he behave himself?—I had not an opportunity of observing his every Action, being myself at that time engaged in getting several things into the Boat, which I was apprehensive the Mutineers might have stopped, such as Nails, that I cannot tell.

Putting every Circumstance together on your going into the Boat, declare to this Court on the Oath you have taken, how you considered his Behaviour, whether as a Person joined in the Mutiny, or as a Person wishing well to Captain Bligh?—I by no means considered him as a Person concerned in the Mutiny or Conspiracy.

At the time Mr. Heywood was assisting you in putting things into the Boat did he know it was the Intention of the Mutineers to send the Commander of the “Bounty” and several of the Officers and Men away in that Boat?—I can't tell.

Did he know that you was going out of the Ship?—He certainly must think so, seeing me get my Chest and Things into the Boat.

Did you know that Captain Bligh was going in the Boat?—Yes.

Can you suppose that there was any one Man on board the Ship who did not know that the Captain was to go into the Boat?—I do not suppose that there might be.

Did he know what caused you to go out of the Ship?—Everybody must have known at the time that was on Deck, he must have known that I meant to follow my Commander to go with him.

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Did the Prisoner Mr. Heywood express any Desire or Inclination to follow his Commander along with you?—Not to me.

Was Mr. Bligh confined upon the Quarter Deck in such a Situation as that he must necessarily have been seen by the Prisoner Mr. Heywood, either when he was on the Booms or assisting you in handing Things into the Boat?—I think he was in such a Situation as he must have been seen by Every Person on the Deck.

Was there any Bulk Head or Screen round Mr. Heywood's Birth?—It was half boarded and half Canvas to the best of my Knowledge, the Screen let down.

If the Screen was let down how did you see Mr. Heywood on going on Deck?—The Screen was not let down then.

Did it appear to you that at the time you saw Mr. Heywood's Hand on the Cutlass that it might have been used to Advantage, had he been Disposed rather to have given it to you, or to have made use of it himself?—No, by no means, as there were fourteen Men on the Deck all Armed at that time, and the Officers all being confined to the Cockpit and their various Cabins, and most of the Mutineers or all of them, had either Musquets or Pistols.

Were any of the Prisoners amongst those who opposed your going into the Boat?—No.

You said that the Prisoner Morrison did not seem to be leagued with the Mutineers; did he express to you any Desire to follow the Fate of his Commander in the Boat?—He desired me to take Notice in the face of the whole of the Mutineers that he was prevented from coming into the Boat.

Did you see him prevented?—I did not see any body personally prevent him—but Christian had given an Order before that neither Coleman, Norman nor McIntosh should quit the Ship.

How do you know that he gave that Order?—I heard him myself.

Cross-examined by MICHAEL BYRN—When you were first alarmed and came from below with Mr. Cole, did you observe anyone sitting on a Chest in the Forehatchway a Midships?—I did not.

When you was in the Launch receiving the Things from

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some body on board did I not speak to you out of the Stern of the large Cutter?—I recollect no such things, no otherwise than his desiring every one of us to take Notice that if he went with us he could be of no Service, and he was crying in the Boat.

Before the Captain and Mr. Fryer and several of the other Officers and People were in the Boat, was you not down in the Launch?—I was several times in and out of the Launch to stow the Things in her and receiving the Things from on board.

Do you recollect my saying, “ Mr. Purcell, if you live to go home I hope you will go to my Friends and let them know, I know nothing of this Transaction, nor had any hand in it? ”—No.

At four o’Clock the Court adjourned till to-morrow Morning,
nine o’Clock.

Friday, 14th September, 1792.

The Court met According to Adjournment.

Lieutenant THOMAS HAYWARD, late 3rd Lieut. of His Majesty's Ship "Pandora," and formerly Midshipman belonging to His Majesty's Armed Vessel the "Bounty," called in and sworn.

Examined by the COURT—Inform the Court of all the Circumstances within your own Knowledge respecting His Majesty's Armed Vessel the "Bounty" being run away with?—At 4 o'Clock in the Morning of the 28th. of April, 1789, Fletcher Christian relieved the Watch as usual; at about 5 o'Clock, after giving Orders to prepare for Washing Decks, he order'd me to look out, as being Master's Mate of his Watch, while he went down to lash his Hammock up; a few Minutes elapsed, and I was abaft looking at a Shark that was astern of the Ship, when to my unutterable Surprise I saw Fletcher Christian, Charles Churchill, Thomas Burkitt, one of the Prisoners, John Sumner, Matthew Quintal, William McKoy, Isaac Martin, Henry Hilbrandt and Alexander Smith coming aft, Armed with Musquets and Bayonets. On my going forward to prevent their Proceedings I asked Fletcher Christian the Cause of such an Act; he told me to hold my Tongue instantly, and left Isaac Martin as a Centinel on Deck, and proceeded with the rest of his Party below to Lieutenant Bligh's Cabbin, some few of the number remaining in the After Hatchway with their Head above the Deck. At the time that this happened the People on Deck were Mr. John Hallett, myself, Robert Lamb, Butcher, Thomas Ellison (the Prisoner) at the Helm; and John Mills at the Conn. When Christian had got below I asked Mills if he knew any thing of the Matter; he pleaded total Ignorance, and Thomas Ellison quitted the Helm and Armed himself with a Bayonet. The Ship's Decks now began to be thronged with Men, out of which Edward Young, a Midshipman, John Millward, William Muspratt, John

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Williams, Richard Skinner and William Brown were Armed with Musquets and Bayonets—Peter Heywood, one of the Prisoners, George Stewart and James Morrison, one of the Prisoners, unarmed on the Booms. Fletcher Christian and his Gang before mentioned had not been down long before I heard the Cry of Murder from Lieutenant Bligh, and on the other Hand heard Churchill call for a Rope—it was now that I found that John Mills was one of the Mutineers’ Party, for, contrary to all Orders and entreaties, he cut the Deep sea Line, and carried a piece of it to their Assistance. Soon after, I saw Lieutenant Bligh brought up upon the Quarter Deck with his hands bound behind him; he was surrounded by most of those who came last on Deck. Now some of the Officers were permitted to come on Deck, and Christian ordered us to hoist the Cutter out; we remonstrated against it, she being too small and very leaky to contain us, and he gave us the Launch, and as soon as the Launch was out Christian order’d Mr. John Samuel, the Clerk, Mr. John Hallet, Midshipman, and myself into her; we requested time sufficient to collect a few Cloaths before we disembarked, which being granted, I repaired to the Main Hatchway, which was clear by the Launch’s being out, but was prevented from descending at first by Matthew Thompson, who was Armed with a Cutlass and Centinel over the Arm Chest, which stood in the after part of the Main Hatchway. Gaining his consent, I descended with Mr. Hallet, and perceived Peter Heywood the Prisoner in his Birth; I told him to go into the Boat, but in my hurry do not remember to have received any Answer; after taking a few Cloaths in a bag I went up and put them into the Launch and went to Christian and asked him for my Instruments and Charts, but was positively refused and hurried into the Boat by Christian, tho’ not before I had seen Lieutenant Bligh brought to the Gangway held by Christian and surrounded by John Mills, who was at this time Armed, Thomas Burkitt, the Prisoner, Matthew Quintal, John Sumner, John Millward, the Prisoner, William McKoy, and Thomas Ellison, the Prisoner, who came up rather in a hurry with a Bayonet in his hand swearing, “Damn him, I will be Centry over him.” I then went over the Gangway. When in the Launch I saw

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Michael Byrn in the Cutter and heard him say he was sorry he could not have leave to come with us. The Officers and Men being in the Boat, Lieutenant Bligh was then forced in and we were veered astern, the Mutineers saying they would give us a tow towards the Land. In this Situation astern of the Ship we prayed much for Arms, Ammunition and more Provisions, which, for a Watch and the Boatswain's Call, we received four Cutlasses and a small addition of Pork. Numbers of the Mutineers had collected themselves at the Taffrail, among whom I particularized Richard Skinner, Matthew Quintal, John Millward, the Prisoner, Henry Hilbrandt, Thomas Ellison, the Prisoner, Alexander Smith and William Brown, who publicly insulted Lieutenant Bligh, and Richard Skinner would have shot into the Boat, but was prevented by others of the Mutineers. After Waiting some time John Millward, the Prisoner, jeered us saying, "Go and see if you can live upon a Quarter of a lb. of Yams pr. Day." Just before casting off Joseph Coleman came and avowed his Ignorance and Innocence of the Matter. After casting off, I heard Orders given for loosing Top Gallt. Sails and saw Thomas Ellison going up the Shrouds for that purpose. This is all I know of the Mutiny in His Majesty's Ship "Bounty."

Were you sent by Captain Edwards to apprehend some of the Prisoners at Mativy?—Yes.

Relate to the Court all you know of that Circumstance?—Before His Majesty's Ship "Pandora" anchored at Mativy Bay in the Island of Otahoite I saw Joseph Coleman, the Prisoner, coming off to the Ship, who was upset but was assisted by the Natives and brought on board, and when on board he asked me how I did and after the Officers and Men who had quitted the "Bounty" in 1789. Soon after we were at an Anchor George Stewart and Peter Heywood, Prisoner, came on board, but I did not see them until they were in Captain Edwards' Cabin. They made themselves known to Captain Edwards, saying that they belonged to His Majesty's late Ship "Bounty" and were happy that he was arrived. I asked them how they came to go away with His Majesty's Ship "Bounty" and received an answer

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from George Stewart, that when called upon hereafter he would answer all Particulars; from further Questions I was prevented by Captain Edwards, and they were sent out of the Cabin to be confined. In the Afternoon, about 4 o'Clock of the same Day, Richard Skinner came on board, but I was not present at any Conversation which passed between the Officers and him. Hearing from the Natives that part of the Mutineers which had staid on Shore from His Majesty's Ship "Bounty" had built a small Vessel and the Day before had sailed from Mativay Bay to the North West part of the Island, Captain Edwards in the Evening of the Day that the Ship arrived sent Lieutenant Corner and myself in two boats manned and Armed to take them; on the next Morning about 7 o'Clock we perceived a Schooner far to Windward on the Shore (she appeared to us at first to be on Shore) and we being under the reef rowed up but were soon perceived, or from Intelligence from the Natives, by the Mutineers; they made all possible Dispatch and got under Way and stood out to Sea. The Schooner might be about 16 Tons. Our Boats being inside the Reef and not any opening near, we were obliged to row ahead against a strong Sea Breeze, which give the Schooner an opportunity of getting far out to Sea; in about half an hour we gained an opening and made Sail after them, myself in the Pinnace, Lieut. Corner in the Launch; we chased them out to Sea till Sun Set, when I was the Headmost Boat, and perceived the Schooner to gain much of us. It coming on Dark and being about seven Leagues from the Land, and having no hopes of coming up with her, I made the Signal and gave over Chace, and we returned to the Land and the next Morning to the Ship. On my Arrival at the Ship I found that Michael Byrn was come on board and that a European by the Name of Brown, who had been left by a Ship⁹ that had visited Otaheite since the departure

⁹ This was the American ship "Mercury," the master of which had left Brown behind because he had had trouble with him. ("The Voyage of H.M.S. 'Pandora,'" p. 31.) The presence of this man (whom Edwards entered on the ship's books "as part of the complement") raises an interesting point. Hayward says the "Mercury" touched Tahiti after Bligh had left. Yet the Admiralty had told Edwards that he might get some useful information from Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 31). Hamilton, the "Pandora's" surgeon, says Brown

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of Lieutenant Bligh in the "Bounty," was also on board, having Intelligence of the Schooner's returning to Land at a Place called Papara. Lieutenant Corner was dispatched with a Party to take them. A few hours afterwards I was dispatched with a Party, and on my arrival at Attahourah, which is half way from the Ship to where the Schooner was supposed to be, I found the Launch lying there with James Morrison, Thomas Ellison and Charles Norman, Prisoners, on board, whom I dispatched under Charge of Mr. Seville to the Ship, left the Boat that I came in and marched by Land to the Assistance of Mr. Corner. On my Arrival at Papara I found that the rest of the mutineers—Thomas Burkitt, John Sumner, John Millward, Henry Hillbrandt, William Muspratt and Thomas McIntosh—had fled to the Mountains, and had left their Schooner there. We lay there over Night and in hopes by the Assistance of the Natives to procure the abovementioned Men, but finding it ineffectual returned to the Ship with the Schooner. Either the Day or two Days after our return Mr. Corner landed at Point Venus with an Armed Party [and] Marched to Happianah, in order to proceed thro' the Valley which stretches to the Opposite side of the Island into the District of Papara. The next day after Mr. Corner's departure I was despatched to Papara with an Armed Party in Order to receive and take Prisoners the Mutineers, who were supposed to be in the Valley. As soon as I arrived in Papara I had Intelligence that they were not far off, and with a Guide I marched in search of them but without success. In the Morning following at about 11 o'Clock I had intelligence of the Mutineers coming down. I therefore drew out my Party in Order to receive them, and when they were within hearing called to them to lay down their Arms and to go on one side, which they did, and I confined them and

had been "upwards of twelve months on Tahiti." If that is so, the "Mercury" must have arrived while the mutineers were there. Why, then, did not Heywood and the others get a passage in her? And how did the Admiralty learn of Brown's presence at Tahiti? These are questions the editor confesses he has not been able to clear up satisfactorily. It may be, of course, that the mutineers found Brown on the island when they came from Tubuai the second time. Bligh ("Voyage to the South Sea," p. 77) mentions that the "Mercury" was off Van Dieman's Land in July, 1789, and she may then have been making for Tahiti.

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brought them to the Ship. Before I left Papara I wrote to Lieutenant Corner, who was coming thro' the Valley, of my having taken them Prisoners.

What was the Number of Armed Men you perceived on board the "Bounty" on the Morning of the Mutiny?—Eighteen.

Were there eighteen upon Deck armed?—Yes, at last.

Do you know of any Conversation that passed between Christian and any of the Officers of the "Bounty" for having the Launch in the Room of the Cutter?—None—there was a general Clamour respecting the Size of the Boat, she being too small, but I know of no particular Person speaking to Christian.

What Number of Men were in the Boat when you were ordered in her?—I saw none. I was the first that was ordered in her.

How long did the Boat remain alongside after you were in her?—About a $\frac{1}{4}$ of an Hour or it might be less.

Were all the People that were in the Boat ordered or did they go Voluntarily?—I know no one ordered in except Mr. John Hallet, Mr. John Samuel, and myself.

What Number of Men were on Deck assisting hoisting out the Boats?—I cannot say.

Can you particularize any that were below at that time?—None except those who guarded the Officers' Cabins in the after part of the Ship.

Relate to the Court all you remember of Coleman's Behaviour on the Day of the 28th?—I saw nothing of Coleman till he came to the Tafrail and declared his Innocence.

Relate every thing you remember of Mr. Heywood's Conduct on that Day?—I remember Mr. Heywood on the Booms where he was not doing anything that I remember and afterwards in his Birth below, where I spoke to him as beforementioned.

Did he make any Answer to you?—Not as I remember.

Did you at any time of that Day see Mr. Heywood with Arms in his hands?—No.

Did you see him assist in hoisting the Boats out?—No.

Relate what you know of Michael Byrn's Conduct?—I saw nothing of Michael Byrn until I was in the Launch

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when I saw him keeping one of the cutters and heard him say he was sorry he could not go with us.

Relate what you know of James Morrison?—I remember seeing Morrison assisting in clearing the Yams out of the Boats, but am doubtful whether he was first under arms or not.

Did you hear any Conversation pass between him and any Officers in the Ship at first?—I do not remember any.

Did he at all appear to you by his Conduct to be assisting the Mutineers or was it merely obeying the orders that were given to get the Boats out?—If I was to give it as my opinion I should say that he was assisting the Mutineers, he perhaps might wish to get the Boats out to get quit of us as fast as possible.

Did you at any time see Morrison go aft upon the Quarter Deck?—I am doubtful whether I did or not.

Relate what you know of Norman?—Norman was forward on Deck, but I neither saw him under Arms nor in the least assisting the Mutineers, but got a Tool Chest towards the Gangway for the Purpose of putting it into the Boat.

Relate all you know of Ellison?—Ellison was at the Helm, and soon after the People had gone below to Lieutenant Bligh's Cabin quited it and armed himself with a Bayonet, and just before my going into the Boat, saw him as a Centinel with a Bayonet in his hand, over Lieutenant Bligh, saying damn him I will be Centinel over him.

Relate all you saw of McIntosh?—I did not see McIntosh under Arms, neither did I suppose him to be one of the Mutineers; he was one that assisted in getting the Boat out.

Relate what you know of Muspratt respecting the Mutiny?—I remember seeing Muspratt on the Larboardside of the Waste with a Musquet in his hand and supposed him to be one of the Mutineers.

Relate what you remember of Thomas Burkitt?—I saw Thomas Burkitt come aft, following Christian and Churchill, and saw him descend the After Ladder with them, Armed, with a Musquet and Bayonet.

Relate what you remember of Millward?—I do not remember Millward's being upon Deck at first, but after Lieutenant Bligh being brought on Deck I saw him Armed as one of

The "Bounty" Mutineers.

Lieut. Thomas Hayward

the Centinels, and after the Boat was astern, I saw him at the Tafrail where he jeered [at] us and said, "Go and live upon a Quarter of a Pound of Yams per Day," or something to that Purport.

Was you present when Norman, Morrison and Ellison were taken and put into the Launch? ¹⁰—No, they had been left there by Lieutenant Corner under the Charge of Mr. Seville.

When you fell in with the four Prisoners McIntosh, Muspratt, Burkitt and Millward did they make any Resistance to you?—None.

Did they surrender immediately upon your demanding them to lay down their Arms?—Yes.

When you went down the main Hatchway who was there besides Thompson?—Peter Heywood, Mr. John Hallet, who went down with me, and Mr. Elphinstone.

Were no body else to your knowledge between Decks?—Not to my Knowledge

Was Thompson the only Centinel there?—In the Main Hatchway, Yes, but there were Armed Men round the Hatchway on the Booms.

Of the Prisoners, whom you did not see under Arms, did you observe any Efforts either by their Actions Words or Deeds made to recover the Ship?—None.

On the Day of the Mutiny on board the "Bounty" did the Prisoner Norman express to you any Desire of going into the Boat with you?—No.

Or any disapprobation of the Conduct of the Mutineers?—No.

How long after the Mutiny began was it that you saw Muspratt Armed?—It might be about ten Minutes.

At the time you have related the Mutineers to go down into the Cabin was Thomas Burkitt one of those People that you say remained in the Hatchway?—No.

Have you any Reason to know that the Prisoner Peter Heywood would have been prevented from going into the Boat at the time you did, after you desired him to do so?—No.

¹⁰ The "Pandora's" launch.



Landing in Bounty Bay

From a drawing by F. W. Beechy

(From "Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific," by Captain F. W. Beechy, R.N., 1831)

The Court-Martial.

Lieut. Thomas Hayward

How long was it before you went into the Boat after you spoke to him?—Two or three Minutes.

You have said that if you had given it as your Opinion you looked upon the Prisoner James Morrison to be assisting the Mutineers and to get rid of us out of the Ship; you have also said in another part of your Evidence that the Prisoner McIntosh was also assisting to hoist the Boat out, and that you did not look upon him in that light; what is the Reason of your thinking Differently of them?—The Difference was in the Countenances of the People, tho' Opinion may be ill-grounded; the Countenance of the one was rejoiced and the other depressed.

You have said the Prisoner Norman was employed in putting a Tool Chest into the Boat; do you know why he did not accompany you in her?—No.

When Peter Heywood was in his Birth and you Admonished him to go into the Boat, was he prevented by any force or restraint from going on Deck?—No.

What was Mr. Heywood employed about in his Birth when you went below?—Nothing but sitting with his Arms folded on his own Chest, in the fore Part of the Birth.

Did you from his Behaviour consider him as a Person attached to his Duty or to the Party of the Mutineers?—I should rather suppose after my having told him to go into the Boat, and he not joining us, to be on the side of the Mutineers, but that must be only understood as an Opinion as he was not in the least Employed during the active part of it.

Did you observe any Marks of Joy or Sorrow on his Countenance or Behaviour?—Sorrow.

You have said just now that you supposed McIntosh not to be attached to the Mutineers because he had a depressed Countenance; might not the Sorrow that you perceived in the Countenance of Peter Heywood arise from the same Cause?—It might so.

Cross-examined by JAMES MORRISON—You say that you observed Joy in my Countenance and that you are rather inclined to give it as your Opinion that I was one of the Mutineers; can you declare before God and this Court that such Evidence is not the result of a private Pique?—No,

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Lieut. Thomas Hayward

it is not the result of any private Pique, it is an Opinion that I formed after quitting the Ship, from the Prisoner's not coming with us when he had as good an Opportunity as the rest, there being more Boats than one.

Are you certain that we might have had the large Cutter to have accompanied you?—Not being present at any Conference between you, I cannot say, but perhaps you might.

Can you deny that you were present when Captain Bligh beg'd that the Long Boat might not be overloaded and that he did say he would do Justice to those who remained?—I was present at the Time Lieutenant Bligh made such a Declaration, but understood it as respecting Cloaths and other heavy Articles with which the Boat was already too full.

Do you recollect that in Consequence of such Declaration I told you, " I will take my Chance in the Ship " ?—No, I do not remember such a Circumstance.

Do you remember when you handed your Bag up the Main Hatchway and with it your Fuzee, that I was the Person who received them from you, and that Matthew Quintal came and seized upon the Fuzee, and swore damn his Eyes if you should have it?—I don't remember the Person that took the Bag and Fuzee from me and it might have been you, but remember the Circumstances of Matthew Quintal's swearing that I should not have it—but from whose hands he took it I cannot remember.

Do you remember any time on that Day calling upon me to Assist you in any Point of Duty or to give any Assistance to retake His Majesty's Ship?—I have a feint Remembrance of a Circumstance of that Nature.

By the COURT—Relate the Circumstance?—It is so very feint that I can hardly remember it or the Person who it was—but on seeing Charles Churchill upon the Booms I thought that had I had a Friendly Island Club, of which there were many on board, I could, had I not been observed, have gone forward, which was behind Churchill, and knocked him down; that was the Time after handing the Bag up, and the Prisoner might have been the Person whom I called to my Assistance.

The Court-Martial.

Lieut. Thomas Hayward

By JAMES MORRISON—What answer did I give to you?—I do not remember.

Did I say, “ Go it, I’ll back you, there is Tools enough ” ?
—I do not remember.

Did you ever observe any thing in my Conduct thro’ the Voyage and particularly on that Day that should give Cause of Complaint?—During the Voyage not—and on that day I thought he was pleased as far as I can judge of Countenances. The Prisoner Assisted in preparing the Boat for our departure, but as I have Said before I do not know his real intention.

Are you positive that there was a Continual Smile or Appearance of Joy in my Countenance, all the time that you observed me, or at that time only when you called upon me for Assistance?—I cannot say.

Cross-examined by WILLIAM MUSPRATT—In answer to a Question just asked by Morrison, you allow Captain Bligh used these Words—“ Don’t let the Boat be overloaded, my Lads, I’ll do you Justice,” which you say alluded to the Cloaths and other heavy Articles. Do you mean to understand the latter Words of “ My Lads I’ll do you Justice ” to apply to Cloaths or to Men whom he apprehended might go into the Boat?—If Captain Bligh made use of the Words “ My Lads,” it was to the People already in the Boat and not to those in the Ship.

By the COURT—To whom do you imagine Captain Bligh alluded when he said that he would do them Justice, was it your Opinion to the Men in the Boat with him or to any Persons then remaining in the Ship?—To Persons remaining in the Ship.

Are you of Opinion that he meant he would do them Justice on Account of their remaining in the Ship or that he would cause Satisfaction to be given to them for any property they might lose?—I rather imagine that it was to those few whom Captain Bligh knew to be of his Party that were detained contrary to their Inclinations and that he would do them such Justice which would throw aside all doubt of their being True to the Service of their Country.

Do you know of any Persons that were detained in the Ship contrary to their Will?—But of two to my own Know-

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Lieut. Thomas Hayward

ledge—Joseph Coleman and Michael Byrn, which from the latter’s declaration I supposed to be the Case.

What authority have you for saying that Coleman was detained contrary to his Will?—From hearing from among the Mutineers their Intention to detain him, as well as the Acting Surgeon, whom they afterwards let go, saying that they would have Little Occasion for Doctors.

The Witness withdrew.

Lieutenant JOHN HALLETT of the Royal Navy, late Midshipman belonging to the “Bounty,” called in and sworn.

Examined by the COURT—Inform the Court of all the Circumstances within your knowledge respecting His Majesty’s armed Vessel “Bounty” being run away with?—In the Morning a little after Day Break of the 28th. of April, 1789, having then the Watch upon Deck, I saw Mr. Christian, the Officer of the Watch, come up the Fore Hatchway armed and several armed Men following him who were, Thomas Burkitt, the Prisoner, Charles Churchill, John Sumner, and Isaac Martin; I do not remember any more coming up at first. I attempted to go down the Fore Hatchway, but was prevented by two fixed Bayonets being thrust up and being myself ordered to stay where I was—but who were the Men who had those Bayonets I cannot say. I was then going aft, but before I got upon the Quarter Deck I heard Captain Bligh sing out “Murder!” He was instantly brought upon Deck naked excepting his Shirt, with his Hands tied behind him and Christian holding the end of the Cord which tied them in one Hand and either a Bayonet or a Cutlass in the other, and he was kept in that situation with a Guard round him, those Men I mentioned before still remaining under Arms. The Cutter was hoisted out by Order of Christian, and Mr. Samuel, Mr. Hayward and myself ordered to go into her, but upon the Boatswain’s and Carpenter’s coming aft and telling Mr. Christian that they would prefer going in the Boat with the Captain to staying in the Ship and asking to have the Launch in Lieu of the Cutter, he granted it and said that he did not wish to compel them or any other Person to stay against their Inclinations or to go. We then asked for various Articles which we thought might be of

The Court-Martial.

Lieut. John Hallett

use, and having got what we could we went into the Boat and were veered astern, Christian saying that he would tow us in towards the Land, but there being very little Wind and thinking we could get in without it faster with our Oars, having procured a few more things from the Ship, we were cast loose.

Did you ever hear any Conversation between Christian and any of the Officers for the Launch instead of the Cutter? —No more than I have related.

What Number of Men were in the Boat when you went into her by Christian's Order?—To the best of my recollection I was one of the first—I was early in the Boat; there might be five or six in.

How long did the Boat remain alongside after you was in her?—I think between ten Minutes or a Quarter of an Hour.

Were all the People that were in the Boat ordered in or did they go voluntarily?—I believe the Major Part came voluntarily.

What Number of Men do you believe Assisted in hoisting out the Launch?—I should suppose about twenty.

Were all those unarmed?—I remember that one or two of the armed Men gave their Arms to others and assisted and as soon as she was out resumed their Arms.

What Number of Men did you perceive under Arms during the Morning?—Thomas Ellison, one of the Prisoners, James Morrison, a Prisoner, Thomas Burkitt, a Prisoner, Henry Hilbrandt, John Sumner, Richard Skinner, Fletcher Christian, Edward Young, Charles Churchill, Matthew Thompson, Alexander Smith, John Mills, William McKoy, John Williams, William Brown, Isaac Martin, and Matthew Quintal.

At what time did you make the Memorandum from which you have named the Prisoners?—I made it lately.

Had you any Conversation with any of the Officers or Men on the morning of the 28th. respecting endeavouring to recover the Ship?—Being so many Armed men and not having a possibility of procuring any Arms ourselves, I believe it was deemed impracticable.

When the Mutineers gave their Arms to others whilst they

The “Bounty” Mutineers.

Lieut. John Hallett

hoisted the Boats out, did they give them to their own Party?—Intirely so.

Did you see Joseph Coleman, one of the Prisoners, on the Day of the Mutiny?—I did.

Relate to the Court the whole that you know of his Conduct on that Day?—He assisted in getting different things into the Boat and when she was astern called to the Gunner saying, “Remember, Mr. Peckover, if ever you do arrive in England, I had no hand in this.”

Did you see Peter Heywood, one of the Prisoners, on the Day of the Mutiny?—I remember to have seen him once.

Where was he when you saw him?—Upon the Platform on the Larboard Side, upon Deck.

What was he doing at that time?—He was standing still, looking attentively towards Captain Bligh.

Had he any Arms in his Hands when you saw him?—I did not see him under Arms at all.

Had you any Conversation with him on that Day?—I do not remember to have Spoken to him.

Do you know whether he was or not prevented coming into the Boat?—I do not know that he ever offered to go into the Boat.

Did you hear any Person propose to him to go into the Boat?—No.

Do you know any other particulars respecting him on that Day?—When he was standing as I have before related, Captain Bligh said something to him, but what I did not hear, upon which he laughed, turned round, and walked away.

Did he appear to be at Liberty or was he at any time confined?—He appeared to be at Liberty.

Relate all you know respecting Michael Byrn?—I only remember to have seen him once, he was then keeping the Cutter alongside—I know nothing more respecting him at all.

Relate all you know of the Conduct of James Morrison on that Day?—When I first saw him he and Millward were talking together unarmed, but he shortly after appeared under Arms.

The Court-Martial.

Lieut. John Hallett

How was he Armed?—With a Musquet.

At what Part of the Ship was he when he was Armed with a Musquet?—I did not see him under Arms till the Boat was veered astern and he was then looking over the Taffrail and called out in a jeering Manner, “ If my friends enquire after me, tell them I am somewhere in the South Seas.”

Relate all the other Part of his Conduct from the beginning of the Mutiny until that time?—I have related the whole to the best of my recollection.

Relate all you know of the Conduct of Norman?—Norman was employed getting things out of the Carpenter’s Store-room, and just before we came away he was crying and saying that he wished he could go with us to see his Wife and Family.

Did you consider him as one of the Mutineers at that time?—I considered him as an innocent Man detained against his Inclination.

Relate to the Court all you know respecting Thomas Ellison?—He appeared early under Arms, and he came up to me and insolently said, “ Mr. Hallett, you need not mind this, we are only going to put the Captain on Shore and then you and the others may return on board,” meaning Mr. Hayward and Mr. Samuel only, as no others at that time were ordered to quit the Ship.

Relate all you remember respecting the Conduct of Thomas McIntosh?—McIntosh was employed as Norman was, in getting things from the Storeroom, and appeared willing to procure those things for us which we had required.

Did he shew any Inclination to come into the Boat?—I did not myself observe any.

Relate all you know respecting the conduct of Muspratt?—I do not remember to have seen him.

Relate any other Circumstances than what you have already related to the Court respecting Burkitt?—I have related the whole.

Relate all that you know respecting Millward?—As I before said, I saw him and Morrison talking together and saw him shortly afterwards armed.

Do you know whether Coleman, Norman and McIntosh were detained in the Ship contrary to their Will?—I have great reasons to suppose they were.

The “Bounty” Mutineers.

Lieut. John Hallett

Did you speak to Byrn?—No.

Did you take particular Notice of him so as to form an Opinion of the situation of his Mind?—He appeared pensive and sorrowful.

Do you believe that to have proceeded from his disapprobation of the Event that had taken Place?—Of the Cause I am wholly ignorant.

Describe to the Court the Situation of Mr. Bligh, Commander of the “Bounty,” when Mr. Heywood the Prisoner laughed, turned round, and walked away as you have already related?—He was standing with his Arms tied behind his Back—Christian holding the Cord with one Hand and a Bayonet to his Breast with the other.

Did you go down the Main Hatchway with Mr. Hayward that Morning?—I was in the Main Hatchway with Mr. Hayward getting some things out of my Chest.

Do you remember to have seen Mr. Heywood at that time below?—I do not remember to have seen him during the Morning excepting the one time I have already related.

At the time the Boats were hoisting out can you recollect the Persons to whom the Mutineers gave their Arms to hold?—There were very few who gave them up at all, and those who did gave them to some of their own Party, but I can't recollect their Names.

When the Boat put off from the Ship did you see or hear any Person express any dissatisfaction at being left behind?—Coleman and Norman.

Cross-examined by JAMES MORRISON—You say you saw me under Arms on the Tafrail and that I did sneeringly say, “Tell my friends if they enquire that I am somewhere in the South Seas”—can you positively declare before God and this Court that it was me and no other Person whom you saw under Arms and to whom I declared the said sneering Message?—I have declared it, but did not remark that the Message was said to any particular Individual.

Can you deny that I did lower down into the Boat from the Larboard Quarter two Cutlasses, two large Gourds of Water and five or six and twenty Pieces of Pork?—I remember that four Cutlasses were lowered, as also the other things (he mentions) into the Boat, but by whom I cannot say.

The Court-Martial.

Lieut. John Hallett

Do you remember that I did personally assist you to haul one of your Chests up the Main Hatchway and whether or not I was armed then?—The circumstance concerning the Chest I do not remember, and have before said that I did not see you under Arms till after the Boat was veered astern.

The Witness withdrew.

JOHN SMITH, a Seaman lately belonging to the "Bounty," called in and Sworn.

Examined by the COURT—Inform the Court of all the Circumstances within your own knowledge respecting His Majesty's armed Vessel "Bounty" being run away with?—I was called up between five and six o'Clock on the Morning of the 28th of April, 1789, to the best of my Knowledge by Thomas Hall, and he told me that I was wanted Aft upon the Quarter Deck. When I went aft Captain Bligh stood upon the Quarter Deck in his shirt; Mr. Christian had him by the left Hand and a Cutlass in his right and he ordered me to bring up his Cloaths. I went and brought up his Cloaths, put on his Trowsers and laid his Jacket over his Shoulders and Christian then ordered me to bring up a Bottle of rum and serve every Man under Arms with a Glass round—I served Mr. Christian first, to the best of my Knowledge, then I went forwards and served William McKoy and John Williams; I returned into the Waste on the Starboard Side and I served several, but I am not positive who they were; I then came Aft upon the Quarter Deck and served some more of them—Thomas Ellison I served a Glass to; then I went down with the Bottle and did not come any more upon Deck, but the Captain went over the Side, to the best of my remembrance—I was in the Captain's Cabin getting his Cloaths out with Mr. Samuel, who was getting his private Papers out. The Centries below between the Captain's Cabin and Mr. Fryer's were John Sumner and Matthew Quintal. I remained below till the Captain was ordered over the side and then I came up with some Twine in my Hand and went across the Ship to go into the Boat. I put the twine into the Boat and went into her myself and she was dropped astern.

The “Bounty” Mutineers.

John Smith

Did you give a Dram to any of the Prisoners?—I gave Coleman a Dram in a Tin pot. I offered Peter Heywood some but he refused it.

Where was he standing?—He was standing with his Hands in his Pockets, and his Back towards the Windlass. I gave Ellison a Dram. I gave Thomas Burkitt a Dram and one to John Millward.

Did any Person go into the Boat after you went into her?—Not to my Knowledge.

How long was the Boat alongside after you was in her?—She was veered a stern immediately.

Did you hear Christian order any Body into the Boat?—Not to my knowledge.

Was you ordered into the Boat?—No.

Did you assist in hoisting the Launch out?—No, I did not see her hoisted out.

In what Station were you on board?—As Captain’s Servant at the time.

Who ordered you to go down into the Cabin to get the Captain’s Cloaths?—I went down with the Bottle and Mr. Christian ordered me to get the Captain’s Cloaths out.

How long was it after the Mutiny was begun before you served the Dram to the People?—Immediately after I put the Captain’s Cloaths on; I can’t recollect how long the Mutiny had begun, for I was in my Hammock.

Where was Coleman standing when you gave him the Dram?—He was forward by the Booms.

Was he armed?—No.

Had Mr. Heywood any Arms in his Hands?—No.

Was he doing any thing or was he in Conversation with any body?—Not to my Knowledge.

Did you see Morrison on that Day at all?—Yes.

In what Part of the Ship did you see him?—I do not recollect.

Had he any Arms in his Hands?—No.

Did you see Charles Norman on that Day?—Yes.

What was he doing?—I do not recollect.

When you served the Dram to Ellison what was he doing?—He was standing with a Musquet in his Hand.

The Court-Martial.

John Smith

In what Part of the Ship?—Before the Mizzen Mast to the best of my Knowledge.

Did you see McIntosh that Day?—Yes.

What was he doing when you saw him?—He was standing by the booms, to the best of my Knowledge.

Had he any Arms in his Hands?—Not as I know of.

Did you see Muspratt?—I do not recollect seeing him that Morning.

Where was Burkitt when you saw him?—On the Fore part of the Quarter Deck to the best of my Knowledge.

Was he under Arms?—Yes—he had a Musquet in his Hand.

What was Millward doing?—He stood with a Musquet in his Hand upon the after ladder, to the best of my Knowledge.

Did you hear Captain Bligh speak to either of the Prisoners on that Morning at the time you were near them?—No.

Cross-examined by JAMES MORRISON—Do you recollect when you came forward with the Bottle that abaft the Windlass Mr. Cole and me were speaking together—that you gave Mr. Cole a Glass into a tin pot and said, “Morrison, you may as well have a drop, tho’ I am ordered to serve none but the Centries?”—I do not recollect a Word of it.

Cross-examined by WILLIAM MUSPRATT—Did you know on that Morning of the Mutiny any Person to come down abaft and get a Bottle of Rum to serve the Ship’s Company with Glasses besides yourself?—Not to my Knowledge.

Cross-examined by JOHN MILLWARD—Do you recollect the Person who took Captain Bligh’s Case up from you and the other Necessaries that were handed up, for the good of them that were going into the Boat?—No—I do not recollect who they were.

The Witness withdrew.

Captain EDWARD EDWARDS, of the Royal Navy, called in and sworn.

Examined by the COURT—Inform the Court the Conversation that passed between you and Coleman, Peter Heywood and George Stewart when they came on board the

The "Bounty" Mutineers.

Captain Edward Edwards

"Pandora"?—Joseph Coleman attempted to come on board before the Ship came to an Anchor at Otaheite—he was soon afterwards taken up by Canoes, and came on board before the Ship came to an Anchor. I began to make Enquiries of him after the "Bounty" and her People. He informed us that some of the People were at a Place Called Mativy, near the Place where the Ship Anchor'd at, and the others had sailed from Mativy in a Schooner that had been built by the "Bounty's" People; he gave me an Account likewise of the Master at Arms, or Ship's Corporal,¹ having been Murdered by Thompson, another of the People belonging to the "Bounty"; he likewise gave an Account that the "Bounty" had been twice at Otaheite since she had been out of the Possession of Captain Bligh; that the last time after the People were landed she went away in the Night and was seen in the Morning in a N.W. direction. To the best of my recollection he seemd to be ready to give me any Information that I asked of him. The next who came on board, were Stewart and Peter Heywood; they came after the Ship was at an Anchor but before any Boat was on Shore. I did not see them Come alongside. Lieutenant Larkin reported to me that they were come on board and I desired Mr. Larkin to bring them down to the Cabin. I asked them what News. Peter Heywood I think said he supposed I had heard of the Affair of the "Bounty." I don't recollect all the Conversation that passed between us; he sometimes interrupted me by asking for Mr. Hayward, the Lieutenant of the "Pandora," whether he was on Board or not; he had heard that he was; at last I acknowledged that he was, and I desired him to come out of my Stateroom, where I had desired him to go into, as he happened to be with me at the time.

Lieutenant Hayward treated him with a sort of contemptuous look, and began to enter into Conversation with him respecting the "Bounty," but I called the Centinel in to take them into Custody, and order'd Lieutent. Hayward to desist, and I order'd them to be put into Irons; some Words passed and Peter Heywood said he hoped he should be able to vindicate his Conduct. The next who was brought

¹ Charles Churchill.

The Court-Martial.

Captain Edward Edwards

on board was Skinner, who came on board about the third Day. The next that came on board were Thomas Ellison, James Morrison, Charles Norman; they were brought on board by the Party whom I sent for them.

Cross-examined by MICHAEL BYRN—Did you, or any of your commissioned warrant, or petty Officers or Seamen, bring Me on board the “ Pandora ” as a Prisoner?—No, I did not understand that any of them did.

Did you know at what part of the Island I was when the “ Pandora ” anchored in Mativy Bay?—No, I did not exactly, but I heard it was at some Distance from the Place.

Was not I introduced into your Cabin to you by some of your Officers?—It is probable that he was, but I do not recollect whether I first saw him on the Quarter Deck, or in my Cabin. It is an Omission that Byrn was mentd. in my Letter to the Admiralty,² as one who was brought on board, for he came on board.

By the COURT—Did the Prisoner Byrn on his first interview with you say that he came from Papara, a Distant Place, and that he had walked all Night to join the Ship?—I do not particularly recollect the Place, but I believe he did say that he came from a distant Place, and that he had travelled in the Night.

The Witness withdrew.

Lieutenant JOHN LARKIN, first Lieutenant of the “ Pandora,” called in and sworn.

Examined by the COURT—Inform the Court how the Prisoners came on board the “ Pandora ”?—Coleman came on board before we came to an Anchor, Heywood came on board next, Norman, Ellison, Morrison came next. Coleman came voluntarily and Michael Byrn, Norman, Ellison and Morrison were brought round in one of our Boats by a Mr. Seville. McIntosh, Muspratt, Millward and Burkitt were brought in one of our Boats.

The Witness withdrew.

² Which had been put in and read.

The "Bounty" Mutineers.

Lieut. Robert Corner

Lieutenant ROBERT CORNER, 2nd Lieutenant of the "Pandora," called in and sworn.

Examined by the COURT—Inform the Court of the Prisoners that were apprehended by you and brought on board the "Pandora"?—There were three of them, Norman, Morrison and Ellison, that came to me in Company with another Man named Brown, who had been left at Otaheite—it was at Attahourah about halfway from the Ship to where I was going in search of the Schooner. I landed there for Intelligence about 2 o'Clock in the Morning; these People with Brown came; Brown was armed, and they were also, with Hatchets and Instruments that he said he had given them to defend themselves from the Indians, in whose Possession I understand they were. When Brown came to me I confined them on board the Boats, and marched on to secure the Schooner.

Was you sent in Pursuit of the Prisoners with the "Pandora's" Boats?—I was, on the Evening of the Day the Ship arrived.

How near did you get to the Schooner?—About a Mile, I suppose.

Did the Schooner avoid you?—She did, she made Sail into the offing and I chased her in the Boats.

Which of the Prisoners do you know were on board the Schooner at the time?—I cannot speak to a certainty who were on board, as I was not near enough to discover them.

Was the Schooner in your Possession, before the three Prisoners whom you have mentioned delivered themselves up with Brown?—No.

Where was the Schooner at this time?—At Papara, which I suppose may be about twenty, or twenty four Miles.

Did you find any of the Prisoners on board?—No.

Did the Prisoners, Norman, Morrison and Ellison voluntarily surrender themselves up to you?—They made no kind of resistance—they came to me of their own Accord with Brown.

The Prosecution being closed and the Prisoners being called on for their Defences, Mr. Heywood delivered a Paper Writing to the Court which was read as follows:—

The Court-Martial.

“ After the long Examination which has taken place upon this Trial, it will not I hope be deemed unreasonable, if I request to be allowed the Whole of tomorrow, to prepare my Defence.”

At four O’Clock, the Court adjourned till to-morrow Morning, nine o’Clock.

Saturday, 15th September, 1792.

The Court met according to adjournment.

JOSEPH COLEMAN being called on for his Defence,

Mr. COLE, Boatswain of the "Bounty," called in again and sworn.

Examined by JOSEPH COLEMAN—Do you remember at the fore Hatchway that you said, "Armourer, what do you intend to do?" and that I said, "To go with the Captain, go where he will"; and that you answered, "So will I," and that you said, "Jump down below and put your Cloaths into a Bag," and that if I had any Trade left to put them into the Bag, it might be of service to us?—I do not remember so much Conversation pass'd; it might have slip'd my Memory. I remember his saying he would go with the Captain, go where he would, and I remember he had a Bag, but I do not recollect whether he had it in his Hand, or whether it was in the Boat and Mr. Christian ordered him to be stopped.

By the COURT—Did you hear Christian order him to be stopped?—Yes I heard Christian order him to be detained.

Did the Armourer at the time Christian Ordered him to be detained expostulate with him?—I did not hear him say any thing at all; he was then surrounded by Armed Men and I saw him crying afterwards.

The Witness withdrew.

The Court adjourned to nine o'Clock on Monday Morning.

Monday, 17th September, 1792.

The Court met according to Adjournment.

Mr. PETER HEYWOOD, being called upon for his Defence, said that owing to the long and severe Confinement he had suffered he was afraid he was not capable of delivering it with that force of Expression which it required, and therefore desired one of his Friends might be permitted to read his defence, which being granted

Mr. Const read his Defence and it is hereto annexed.

My Lords and Gentlemen of this Honorable Court,
Your attention has already been sufficiently exercised in the painful Narrative of this Trial; it is therefore my Duty to trespass on it as little as possible.

The Crime of Mutiny for which I am now arraigned is so seriously pregnant with every danger and Mischief that it makes the Person so accused, in the Eyes not only of military Men but Men of every description and of every Nation, appear at once the object of unpardonable guilt and exemplary vengeance.

In such a Character it is my misfortune to appear before this Tribunal—and no doubt I must have been gazed at with all that horror and indignation which the conspirators of such a Mutiny as that in Captain Bligh's Ship so immediately provoke—hard then indeed is my fate, that circumstances should so occur to point me out as one.

Appearances probably are against me but they are appearances only, for unless I may be deemed guilty for feeling a repugnance at embracing Death unnecessarily I declare before this Court and the Tribunal of Almighty God I am innocent of the Charge.

I chose rather to defer asking any questions of the Witnesses until I heard the whole of the Evidence, as the Charge itself, altho' I knew it generally, was not in its full Extent nor in particular points made known to me before I heard

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it read by the Judge Advocate at the beginning of the Trial,³ and I feel myself relieved by having adopted such a Mode as it enables me to set right a few particulars of a narrative which I had the honour to transmit to the Earl of Chatham, containing an account of all that passed on the Fatal morning of the 28th. of April, 1789, but which from the Confusion the Ship was in during the Mutiny I might have mistaken or from the errors of an imperfect recollection I might have mis-stated. The difference however will now be open to correction; and I have great satisfaction in observing that the mistakes but very slightly respect my part of the transaction and I shall consequently escape the imputation of endeavouring to save myself by imposing on my Judges.

When first this sad Event took place I was sleeping in my Hammock nor, till the very Moment of being awakened from it, had I the least intimation of what was going on—The Spectacle was as sudden to my Eyes as it was unknown to my Heart—and both were Convulsed at the Scene.

Matthew Thompson was the first that claimed my attention upon waking. He was sitting as a Centinel over the Arm Chest and my Birth, and informed me that the Captain was a Prisoner and Christian had taken Command of the Ship. I intreated for permission to go upon Deck and soon after the Boatswain and Carpenter had seen me in my Birth as they were going up the fore Hatchway I followed them as it's stated in their Evidence. It is not in my power to describe my feelings upon seeing the Captain as I did, who, with his hands tied behind him, was standing on the Quarter deck a little abaft the Mizen Mast and Christian by his side—My faculties were benumbed and I did not recover the power of recollection until called to by somebody to take hold of the tackle fall and assist to get out the Launch, which I found was to be given to the Captain instead of the large Cutter already in the Water alongside the Ship. It were in vain to say what things I put into the boat, but many were handed in by me, and in doing this it was that my hand touched the Cutlass (for I will not attempt to deny what the Carpenter has deposed) tho'

³ He should have known what the charge was and, in general, how it was to be supported. *Vide* note, p. 70.

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on my Conscience I am persuaded it was of momentary duration, and innocent as to intention. The former is evident, from its being unobserved by every Witness who saw me upon Deck—some of whom must have noticed it had it continued a single Minute and the latter is proved by the only Person who took Notice of the Circumstance and has also deposed that at the moment he beheld me I was apparently in a state of absolute stupor—the Poison therefore carries with it its antidote and it seems needless to make any further comment on the Subject. For no Man can be weak enough to suppose that if I had been Armed for the purpose of assisting in the Mutiny that I should have resigned a weapon in the Moment of triumph and when the Ship was so completely in the possession of the Party that (as more than one Witness has emphatically expressed it) all attempts at recovering her would have been impracticable.

The Boat and Ship, 'tis true, presented themselves to me without its once occurring that I was at liberty to choose, much less that the choice I should make would be afterwards deemed Criminal; and I bitterly deplore that my extreme youth and inexperience concurred in torturing me with Apprehensions and prevented me from preferring the former; for, as things have turned out, it would have saved me from the disgrace of appearing before you, as I do at this day—it would have spared the Sharp conflicts of my own Mind ever since, and the agonising tears of a tender Mother and my much-beloved Sisters.

Add to my Youth and inexperience that I was influenced in my Conduct by the Example of my Messmates, Mr. Hallet and Mr. Hayward, the former of whom was very much agitated and the latter, tho' he had been many years at Sea, yet, when Christian ordered him into the Boat he was evidently alarmed at the perilous situation, and so much overcome by the harsh Command, that he actually shed tears.

My own Apprehensions were far from being lessened at such a Circumstance as this and I fearfully beheld the preparations for the Captain's departure as the preliminaries of inevitable destruction, which, although I did not think could be more certain, yet I feared would be more speedy, by the least addition to their Number.

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To show that I have no disposition to impose upon this Court, by endeavouring to paint the situation of the Boat to be worse than it really was, I need only refer to the Captain's own narrative, wherein he says that she would have sunk with them on the evening of the 3rd. May, had it not been for his timely caution of throwing out some of the Stores, and all the Cloaths belonging to the People excepting two suits for each.

Now what Cloaths or Stores could they have Spared which in Weight would have been equal to that of two Men (for if I had been in her and the poor fellow Norton had not been Murdered at Tofoa, she would have been encumbered with our additional weight), and if it be true that she was saved by those means which the Captain says she was it must follow that if Norton and myself had been in her (to say nothing of Coleman, McIntosh, Norman, and Burn, who 'tis confessed were desirous of leaving the Ship) she must either have gone down with us or to prevent it we must have light'ned her of the Provisions and other necessary articles and thereby have perished for Want—dreadful alternative!

A Choice of Deaths to those who are certain of dying may be a matter of indifference, but where, on one hand, death appears inevitable and the means of salvation present themselves on the other, however imprudent it might be to resort to those means in any other less trying situation, I think (and hope even at my present time of life) that I shall not be suspected of a want of courage for saying few would hesitate to embrace the latter.

Such then was exactly my situation on board the "Bounty"—To be starved to Death, or drown'd, appeared to be inevitable if I went in the Boat and surely it is not to be wondered at if at the age of sixteen Years,⁴ with no one to advise with and so ignorant of the discipline of the Service (having never been at Sea before) as not to know or even suppose that it was possible that what I should determine upon might afterwards be alledged against me as a Crime—I say under such circumstances, in so trying a situation, can it be wondered at if I suffered the preserva-

⁴ He was five weeks short of seventeen. *Vide* Introduction, p. 47.

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tion of my Life to be the first, and to supersede every other, consideration?

Besides, through the Medium of the Master, the Captain had directed the rest of the Officers to remain on board in hopes of retaking the Ship—such is the Master's assertion and such the report on board, and, as it accorded with my own wishes for the preservation of my life I felt myself doubly justified in staying on board, not only as it appeared to be safer than going in the Boat, but from a consideration also of being in the way to be useful in assisting to accomplish so desirable a wish of the Captain.

Let it not—for God's sake—let it not be argued that my fears were groundless, and that the arrival of the Boat at Timor is a proof that my Conduct was wrong. This would be judging from the event and I think I have plainly shown that but for the death of Norton at Tofoa and the prudent order of the Captain not to overload the Boat neither himself nor any of the people who were saved with him would at this moment have been alive to have preferred any Charge against me, or given Evidence at this Trial.

If deliberate guilt be necessarily affixed to all who continued on board the Ship, and that of consequence they must be numbered with Christian's Party—in such a strict view of matters, it must irrevocably impeach the Armourer and two Carpenter's Mates, as well as Martin and Burn, who certainly wished to quit the Ship. And if Christian's first intention of sending away the Captain with a few persons only in the small Cutter had not been given up, or if even the large Cutter had not been exchanged for the Launch, more than half of those who did go with him would have been obliged to stay with me. Forgetful for a moment of my own misfortunes I cannot help being agitated at the bare thought of their narrow escape.

Every body must, and I am sure that this Court will, allow that my case is a peculiarly hard one inasmuch as the running away with the Ship is a proof of the Mutiny having been committed. The Innocent and the Guilty are upon exactly the same footing—had the former been confined by Sickness without a leg to stand on or an arm to assist them in opposing the Mutineers they must have been put upon

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their Trial and instead of the Captain being obliged to prove their guilt, it would have been incumbent upon them to have proved themselves innocent.⁵ How can this be done but negatively? If all who wished it could not accompany the Captain they were necessarily compelled to stay with Christian—and being with him, were dependent on him—subject to his Orders, however disinclined to obey them, for force in such a state is paramount to every thing. But when, on the contrary, instead of being in arms or obeying any orders of the Mutineers, I did every thing in my power to assist the Captain and those who went with him, and by all my Actions (except in neglecting to do what if I had done must have endangered the lives of those who were so fortunate as to quit the Ship) I showed myself faithful to the last moment of the Captain's stay, what is there to leave a doubt in the minds of impartial and dispassionate Men of my being perfectly innocent? Happy indeed should I have been if the Master had stayed on board, which he probably would have done if his reasons for wishing to do so had not been overheard by the Man who was in the Bread room.

Captain Bligh in his narrative acknowledges that he left some friends on board the "Bounty," and no part of my Conduct could have induced him to believe that I ought not to be reckoned of the Number. Indeed, from his attention to and very kind treatment of me personally, I should have been a Monster of depravity to have betray'd him—The Idea alone is sufficient to disturb a mind where humanity and

⁵ Heywood here suggests that the burden of proof was upon him, and that this was contrary to the ordinary principles of British justice. The presumption of innocence, however, only means that it is for the Crown to begin, and to give some evidence against the prisoner. Had the Crown's only evidence been that Heywood was in the ship, it is doubtful if he would have been called on for his defence. He might have contented himself by saying that no sufficient evidence had been given to raise a *prima facie* case against him. On the other hand, it may be urged that the fact of a mutiny in a ship does call for an explanation from each and all of her crew, so as to shift the burden of proof. The Crown had shown (a) that there was a mutiny, and (b) that Heywood was in the ship, and (c) that he was taking *some* part in the proceedings; it would therefore have been idle for him to have suggested that there was *no* case for him to answer. It may be that the case which is enough to shift the onus is nothing like strong enough to convict a prisoner as, to take Heywood's example, if it admitted of the answer that the person charged was "confined by sickness without a leg to stand on."

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gratitude have, *I hope*, ever been noticed as its Characteristic features; and yet Mr. Hallet has said that he saw me laugh at a time when Heaven knows the Conflict in my own Mind, independent of the Captain's situation, rendered such a want of decency impossible. The Charge in its nature is dreadful—but I boldly declare, notwithstanding an internal conviction of my innocence has enabled me to endure my sufferings for the last sixteen Months, could I have laid to my heart so heavy an accusation I should not have lived to defend myself from it. And this brings to my recollection another part of Captain Bligh's narrative, in which he says —“ I was kept apart from every one and all I could do was by speaking to them in general but my endeavours were of no avail, for I was kept securely bound and no one but the Guard was suffered to come near me.”

If the Captain, whose Narrative we may suppose to have been a detail of every thing which happened, could only recollect that he had spoken generally to the people I trust it will hardly be believed that Mr. Hallet, without notes at so distant a period as this, should be capable of recollecting that he heard him speak to any one in particular; and here it may not be improper to observe that, at the time to which I allude, Mr. Hallet (if I am rightly informed) could not have been more than fifteen years of age. I mean not to impeach his Courage, but I think if circumstances be considered and an adequate Idea of the confused state of the Ship can be formed by this Court it will not appear probable that this young Gentleman should have been so perfectly unembarrassed as to have been able to particularise the Muscles of a man's Countenance even at a considerable distance from him, and what is still more extraordinary is that he heard the Captain call to me from abaft the Mizen to the Platform where I was standing, which required an exertion of Voice and must have been heard and noticed by all who were present, as the Captain and Christian were at that awful Moment the object of every one's particular attention; yet he who was standing between us and noticing the transactions of us both, could not hear what was said.

To me it has ever occurred that diffidence is very becom-

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ing, and of all human attainments a knowledge of ourselves is the most difficult—and if in the ordinary course of life it is not an easy matter precisely to account for our own Actions, how much more difficult and hazardous must it be, in new and momentous scenes when the Mind is hurried and distressed by conflicting passions, to judge of another's Conduct; and yet here are two young Men who after a lapse of near four Years (in which period one of them, like myself, has grown from a Boy to be a Man) without hesitation in a Matter on which my life is depending, undertake to account for some of my Actions at a time, too, when some of the most experienced Officers in the Ship are not ashamed to acknowledge they were overcome by the confusion which the Mutiny occasioned and are incapable of recollecting a number of their own transactions on that day.

I can only oppose to such open boldness the calm suggestions of reason, and would willingly be persuaded that the impression under which this Evidence has been given is not in any degree open to suspicion. I would be understood at the same time not to mean anything injurious to the Character of Mr. Hallet—and for Mr. Hayward I ever loved him and must do him the justice to declare that whatever cause I may have to deplore the effect of his Evidence or rather his Opinion, for he has deposed no fact against me, yet I am convinced it was given conscientiously, and with a tenderness and feeling becoming a Man of honor.

But may they not both be mistaken? Let it be considered that their long intimacy with Captain Bligh, in whose distresses they were partakers and whose sufferings were severely felt by them, naturally begot an abhorrence towards those whom they thought the Authors of their Misery; might they not forget that the Story had been told to them and by first of all believing, then constantly thinking of it, be persuaded at last it was a fact within the compass of their own knowledge?

It is the more natural to believe it so from Mr. Hallet's forgetting what the Captain said upon the occasion, which, had he been so collected as he pretends to have been, he certainly must have heard. Mr. Hayward also, it is evident, has made a Mistake in point of time as to seeing me with

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Morrison and Millward upon the booms; for the Boatswain and Carpenter in their Evidence have said, and the concurring testimony of every one supports the fact, that the Mutiny had taken place and the Captain was on Deck before they came up, and it was not till after that time that the Boatswain called Morrison and Millward out of their Hammocks; therefore to have seen me at all upon the Booms with those two Men it must have been long after the time that Mr. Hayward had said it was. Again Mr. Hayward has said that he could not recollect the day or even the Month when the "Pandora" arrived at Otaheite. Neither did Captain Edwards recollect, when on his return he wrote to the Admiralty, that Michael Byrn had surrendered himself as one of the "Bounty's" people, but in that letter he reported him as having been Apprehended—Which plainly shows that the Memory is fallible to a very great degree and it is a fair conclusion to draw that if when the mind is at rest, which must have been the Case with Mr. Hayward in the "Pandora," and things of a few Months' date are difficult to be remembered, it is next to impossible, in the state which every body was on board the "Bounty," to remember their particular actions at a distance of three Years and a half after they were observed.

As to the Advice he says he gave me to go into the Boat, I can only say I have a feint recollection of a Conversation with somebody—I thought it was Mr. Stuart, but be that as it may, I think I may take it upon me to say it was on Deck and not below, for, on hearing it suggested that I should be deem'd Guilty if I staid in the Ship, I went down directly, and in passing Mr. Cole told him in a low tone of voice that I would fetch a few necessaries in a Bag and follow him into the Boat, which at that time I meant to do but was afterwards prevented.

Surely I shall not be deem'd Criminal that I hesitated at getting into a Boat whose Gunnel when she left the Ship was not quite eight inches above the surface of the Water. And if, in the moment of unexpected Trial, fear and confusion assailed my untaught Judgment and that by remaining in the Ship I appeared to deny my Commander, it was in appearance only—it was the sin of my head, for I solemnly

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assure you before God that it was not the vileness of my Heart.

I was surprised into my error by a mixture of ignorance, Apprehension and the prevalence of Example, and, alarmed as I was from my Sleep, there was little opportunity and less time for better recollection. The Captain, I am persuaded, did not see me during the Mutiny, for I retired as it were in sorrowful suspense, alternately agitated between hope and fear not knowing what to do. The dread of being asked by him, or of being ordered by Christian to go into the Boat or—which Appeared to me worse than either—of being desired by the latter to join his Party, induced me to keep out of the sight of both until I was a second time confined in my Birth by Thompson, when the determination I had made was too late to be useful.

One instance of my Conduct I had nearly forgot which, with much anxiety and great astonishment, I have heard observed upon and considered as a fault, tho’ I had imagined it blameless if not laudable—I mean the Assistance I gave in hoisting out the Launch, which, by a mode of expression of the Boatswain’s, who says I did it voluntarily (meaning that I did not refuse my assistance when he asked me to give it) the Court I am afraid has considered it as giving assistance to the Mutineers and not done with a view to help the Captain of which, however, I have no doubt of being able to give a satisfactory explanation in Evidence.

Observations on matters of opinion I will endeavour to forbear where they appear to have been formed from the impulse of the Moment; but I shall be pardoned for remembering Mr. Hayward’s (given I will allow, with great deliberation and after long weighing the question which called for it) which cannot be reckoned of that description, for altho’ he says he rather considered me as a friend to Christian’s Party, he states that his last Words to me were, “Peter, go into the Boat”—which words could not have been addressed to one who was of the Party of the Mutineers. And I am sure, if the Countenance is at all an Index to the Heart, mine must have betrayed the sorrow and distress he has so accurately described.

It were trespassing unnecessarily upon the patience of

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the Court to be giving a tedious history of what happened in consequence of the Mutiny and how thro' one very imprudent step I was unavoidably led into others.

But amidst all this pilgrimage of distress I had a conscience, thank heaven, which lull'd away the pain of personal difficulties, dangers and distress. It was this conscious principle which determined me not to hide myself as if guilty. No—I welcomed the arrival of the “ Pandora ” at Otaheite and embraced the earliest opportunity of freely surrendering myself to the Captain of that Ship.

By his order I was chained and punished with incredible severity—tho' the Ship was threatened with instant destruction, when fear and trembling came on every Man on board; in vain for a long time were my earnest repeated Cries that the galling Irons might not in that moment of affrighting consternation prevent my hands from being lifted up to Heaven for Mercy.

But tho' it cannot fail deeply to interest the humanity of this Court and kindle in the breast of every Member of it compassion for my sufferings, yet as it is not relative to the point and as I cannot for a moment believe that it proceeded from any improper motive on the part of Captain Edwards, whose Character in the Navy stands high in estimation both as an Officer and a Man of humanity, but rather that he was actuated in his Conduct towards me by the imperious dictates of the Laws of the Service, I shall therefore waive it and say no more upon the Subject.

Believe me, again, I intreat you will believe me, when, in the name of the tremendous Judge of Heaven and Earth (before whose vindictive Majesty I may be destined soon to appear) I now assert my innocence of plotting, abetting or assisting either by word or deed the Mutiny for which I am tried. For, young as I am, I am still younger in the school of art and such matured infamy.

My Parents (but I have only one left, a solitary and Mournful Mother who is at home weeping and trembling for the Event of this day) thanks to their fostering care taught me betimes to reverence God, to honour the King and be obedient to his Laws and at no time have I resolutely or designedly been an Apostate to either.

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To this honorable Court then I now Commit myself.

My Character and my Life are at your disposal, and as the former is as sacred to me as the latter is precious, the consolation or settled misery of a dear Mother and two Sisters who mingle their tears together and are all but frantic for my situation—pause for your Verdict!

If I am found worthy of life, it shall be improved by past experience and especially taught from the serious lesson of what has lately happened.

But if nothing but Death itself can atone my pitiable indiscretion I bow with submission and all due respect to your impartial decision.

Not with sullen indifference shall I then meditate on my doom as not deserving it—No, such behaviour would be an insult to God and an affront to man—and the attentive and candid deportment of my Judges in this place requires more becoming Manners in me.

Yet if I am found Guilty this day they will not construe it, I trust, as the least disrespect offered to their discernment and opinion if I solemnly declare that my Heart will rely with confidence in its own innocence until that awful period when my Spirit shall be about to be separated from my body to take its everlasting flight and be ushered into the presence of that unerring Judge, before whom all Hearts are open, and from whom no Secrets are hid.

I will now call my witnesses and establish the facts I have assumed.

P. HEYWOOD.

Mr. FRYER called in again and Sworn.⁶

Examined by Mr. HEYWOOD—Whose Watch was I in on board the "Bounty" and what Watch had I on the Day of the Mutiny?—In my Watch and in the first Watch the preceding Evening.

If you had been permitted would you have staid in the Ship in preference to going into the Boat?—Yes.

Had you staid in the Ship in expectation of retaking her,

⁶ On 7th July Heywood had received a letter from Fryer, saying: "Keep your spirits up, for I am of opinion no one can say you had an active part in the mutiny; and be assured of my doing you justice when called upon." (Marshall, "R.N. Biog.," p. 782.) Here Fryer will be seen keeping his promise.

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Mr Fryer

was my Conduct such from the first moment you knew me to this, in which you are now to answer the question, such as would have induced you to intrust me with your Design, and do you believe I would have favoured it and given you all the assistance in my power?—I believe he would. I should not have hesitated a Moment in asking of him when I had had an opportunity of opening my Mind to him.

Was it the general impression, at the Moment when Christian gave permission for the Launch to be hoisted out, that if it were not done immediately he might alter his mind and turn the Captain adrift in the Cutter?—Yes.

If he had done so, what Number of Men would she have carried?—Nine or Ten.

Did you consider those People who assisted in hoisting out the Launch as helping the Captain or the Mutineers?—Those who were without Arms, assisting the Captain.

How many Men (including Captain Bligh) went into the Boat?—Nineteen.

What height was the Gunwale of the Boat from the Water when she put off from the Ship?—About 8 Inches; between 8 and 9 Inches, to the best of my Knowledge, or remembrance.

Did you ever hear any Person besides the Boatswain and the Carpenter in the Boat mention my being in my Hammock at the time the Mutiny began?—Yes, Mr. Tinkler.

At the time of the Mutiny, was I of an Age, or do you think I was then sufficiently experienced, to judge of the probable safety of the Boat when she left the Ship?—No.

What was my general Temper and Disposition on board the Ship?—Beloved by every body, to the best of my Recollection.

The COURT did not ask the Witness any Questions and he withdrew.

Mr. WILLIAM COLE called in again and Sworn.

Examined by Mr. HEYWOOD—Did Captain Bligh speak to me whilst I was on Deck on the Morning of the Mutiny?—I do not know.

Did you hear him speak to me?—No.

Do you recollect asking me to assist you in hoisting out the Launch?—Yes.

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Mr William Cole

Did you consider me when helping to hoist out the Launch as assisting the Captain or the Mutineers?—By no means helping the Mutineers; I thought him to be on the Captain's side.

Did you at any time during the Mutiny see me Armed?—No.

If you had remained in the Ship in hopes of retaking her, would you, from your knowledge of my past behaviour and from every Observation you made of my Conduct on the Day of the Mutiny, have intrusted me with your design, and do you think I should have afforded you all the assistance in my power?—Yes.

From anything you observed in my Conduct during the Morning of the Mutiny, did you then, or do you now, believe that I was of the Mutineers' Party?—No.

Was I in any instance that Morning guilty of Levity or apparent Merriment?—No.

As you have said that when I left the Deck to go below, I said something to you but you cannot now recollect what—I would ask you whether it was not that I would go below and put some things into a Bag and join you in the Boat?—I know it was something about a Bag, but what I could not tell; I supposed he was going to get some things to come into the Boat.

After I went below accompanied by Stewart, and while we were there, did you hear any Orders, given to Thompson the Centinel upon the Arm Chest, not to let them come up again, and by whom were such Orders given?—I heard Churchill call out keep them below.

Do you think he meant me as one of them, whoever they were?—Yes, I do.

Altho' you cannot positively say it was me he meant to have confined, have you any doubt in your mind but that it was me?—None at all.

Was it not the general Impression at the Moment when Christian gave permission for the Launch to be hoisted out, that if it were not done immediately he might alter his mind and turn the Captain adrift in the cutter?—Yes.

If he had done so, what Number of Men would the Cutter have carried?—I suppose she might carry 8 or 10; I mean the large Cutter.



Interior of Pitcairn Island

From a drawing by F W Beechy

(From "Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific," by Captain F. W. Beechy, R N., 1831)

The Court-Martial.

Mr William Cole

Could Captain Bligh have spoken to me loud enough for me to have heard him, as I was situated, without your hearing him?—No, he⁷ was forward at the fore Hatchway, and I was about there, getting the Boat out.

Did you see Mr. Hayward upon Deck during the Time of the Mutiny?—Yes.

In what state did he appear to be—was he cool and collected, or did he seem agitated and alarmed?—More alarmed.

Did you see Mr. Hallet upon Deck during the Time of the Mutiny?—Yes.

In what state did he appear to be, was he cool and collected or did he seem agitated and alarmed?—Alarmed.

In a former part of your Evidence, you described all who staid in the Ship (except Coleman, Norman, McIntosh, and Byrn) as Mutineers. Did you mean to include me as a Mutineer?—By no means, neither him nor Morrison.

Did Mr. Fryer, when you went into the Cockpit to him, desire you to stay in the Ship if you could?—He said “Stay.”

What was my general Conduct, Temper, and behaviour on board the Ship?—Always, a very good Character.

By the Court—Did you see Mr. Peter Heywood farther Aft than the fore Hatchway on that Day?—I saw him on the Booms; he may go a little farther aside the Boat; I did not see him on the Quarter Deck or any where there.

How long was you below when Mr. Fryer, the Master, spoke to you?—I don't suppose I could be there a Minute.

Except that Time, was you upon Deck from the beginning of the Mutiny until the Boat put off?—I went down below once to my Cabin.

When Mr. Fryer, the Master, bid you stay, did you understand it, that you should remain with him in Case he staid for the Purpose of retaking the Ship?—Yes.

Was that the Time you staid below a Minute?—No.

How many Times was you below?—I do not know that I was down above thrice After I went down to turn the People out of their Beds.

What length of Time do you think you observed the

⁷ I.e., Heywood, not Bligh.

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Mr William Cole

Prisoner Mr. Heywood on that Day?—It may be 10 Minutes, or a Quarter of an Hour, that he was there assisting.

In the different times you went below how long do you think you was below in the whole?—I don't suppose I was below more than 10 Minutes in all the three times—I think it would not be so long—I was down and up again directly, almost.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. PECKOVER called in again and sworn.

Examined by Mr. HEYWOOD—If you had remained in the Ship in hopes of retaking her, should you, from your knowledge of my Conduct from the first Moment you knew me to the Moment in which you are now to answer the question, have entrusted me with your design and do you believe I would have given you all the assistance in my power?—He should have been one of the first that I would have endeavoured to have opened my Design to.

What was my Temper, disposition, and general Conduct on board the Ship?—Of the most amiable, and deserving of every one's Esteem.

As you have said in a former part of your Evidence that all who remained on board you considered to be of the Mutineers' Party—did you mean to include me as a Mutineer?—Not by any means. I did not see Mr. Heywood.

By the COURT—As you did not see Mr. Heywood on that Day nor observe any part of his Conduct, what are your Reasons for saying that he would have been one of the first that you would have opened your Mind to, in Case you had endeavoured to retake the Ship?—From the Universal Character that he bore in the Ship, and the five Months that he was ashore with me at Otaheite.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. WILLIAM PURCELL called in and Sworn.

Examined by Mr. HEYWOOD—Did you see me upon Deck during the time of the Mutiny?—I did.

Did you see me assist in hoisting out the Launch?—I did.

Was it the general impression at the moment when Christian gave permission for the Launch to be hoisted out that

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Mr William Purcell

if it were not done immediately he might alter his mind and turn the Captain adrift in the Cutter?—Yes.

If he had done so, what Number of People could have accompanied the Captain?—I think not more than 8 or 10.

Did you consider me when assisting to hoist out the Launch as helping the Captain or the Mutineers?—The Captain.

After what you have said respecting the Cutlass on which you say my hand rested, just as the Launch was going to be hoisted out, I would ask you whether, on the most mature consideration of the matter, you did then, or you do now, believe that I could be considered as an Armed Man?—No.

Did my Conduct when you spoke to me indicate that I wished to be Armed, or could you, from what you saw me do, or heard me say at any particular time or during the whole time you saw me on the day of the Mutiny, give you cause to believe then, or do you now upon recollection think, that I was of the Mutineers' Party?—No.

If you had remained in the Ship in hopes of retaking her, would you, from your knowledge of my past behaviour and from Every Observation you have made of my conduct, as well on the Day of the Mutiny as at other times, have entrusted me with your design, and do you think I should have afforded you all the Assistance in my Power?—I should have entrusted him and do think that he would have afforded me every assistance in his Power.

Did Captain Bligh speak to me whilst I was on Deck on the Morning of the Mutiny?—I don't know that he did—I did not hear him.

Could Captain Bligh have spoken to me loud enough for me to have heard him as I was situated without your hearing him?—I think not.

Was I in any Instance during that Morning guilty of Levity or apparent Merriment?—By no Means.

After I went below and while I was there did you hear the Master at Arms call to Thompson, the Centinel, to keep me below?—"To keep them below."

What height was the Gunwale of the Boat from the Water when she put off from the Ship?—About seven Inches and a half.

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Mr William Purcell

Did you hear Mr. Hallet upon Deck during the time of the Mutiny?—I did.

In what State did he appear to be? Was he cool and collected or did he seem agitated and alarmed?—He appeared to me to be very much confused.

Did you see Mr. Hayward upon Deck during the time of the Mutiny?—I did.

In what state did he appear to be? Was he cool and collected or did he seem to be agitated and alarmed?—He likewise appeared to be very much confused.

What was my general Conduct and Temper on board the Ship?—In every respect becoming the Character of a Gentleman, and such as merited the Esteem of every body.

By the COURT—Was you upon Deck from the Commencement of the Mutiny until the Time the Boat was turned adrift?—I did not come up till after the small Cutter was hoisted out; I occasionally went below to the Cockpit and my Cabin.

How long was you below altogether?—I can't answer to the time exactly; a few Minutes each time.

During the time you was upon Deck did you see Peter Heywood the whole of that time?—No, I was too much employed to take Notice of any singular Person, the whole of the time.

Had you any Conversation with Peter Heywood for the Purpose of retaking the Ship, supposing you had staid?—No.

How then do you know that he was not of the Mutineers' Party?—I judge from his former Behaviour and his Behaviour at that Time in giving every Assistance in Power.

As you was so frequently below, what are your Reasons for saying that you think Captain Bligh could not have spoken to Peter Heywood without your observing it?—I never see Mr. Heywood Aft the Bow of the Boat and I think the Captain must have spoken very loud for him to have heard, and I know Mr. Christian would not permit that, when I was upon Deck, and my stay being so short at each time below, that I still think I must have heard it.

Where was Mr. Peter Heywood when you spoke to him

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Mr William Purcell

about the Cutlass?—Upon the Booms upon the Starboard side by the Bow of the Boat.

Where about does the Bow of the Boat rest upon the Deck?—She stood in a Chock. Her Bow came well with the Combings of the Fore Hatchway, rather projecting over it.

Altho' you did not see the Prisoner Mr. Heywood farther aft than the Bow of the Boat, as you have already described, might he not have been farther Aft, when you was below?—He might.

As you say you did not look upon the Prisoner as a Person Armed, to what did you allude when you exclaimed, " Good God, Peter, what do you do with that? " upon seeing his Hand leaning upon a Cutlass?—I looked upon it to be an Accidental Thing.

You have said that the Prisoner Mr. Heywood gave every Assistance—do you mean to Captain Bligh?—Yes, and the Officers and People that were going in the Boat.

Describe that Assistance?—He assisted me in getting my Chest into the Boat and hauling it out from between Decks, and several other Necessaries which were the Preservation of all our Lives. It was the Cloaths Chest he assisted at; the Tool Chest was on the Quarter Deck.

Who do you think Churchill alluded to when he called to Thompson, the Centinel, to keep them below?—I thought he alluded to Mr. Heywood and Mr. Stewart as they were both below at that time and I did not consider either of them as Mutineers.

Was Mr. Elphinstone in his Birth with the Prisoner when that Order was given?—No, to the best of my Knowledge Mr. Elphinstone was upon Deck.

Was Mr. Heywood alone or was any other Person with him?—Mr. Stewart was below with him at the Time.

To your Knowledge were there no other Persons except Mr. Heywood and Mr. Stewart to whom it was possible Churchill might have alluded?—I don't know whether there was any other Person below.

Do you know that there were not other Persons below?—No.

As Mr. Heywood assisted you in getting your Chest into the Boat did you hear or see him express any Marks of Dis-

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Mr William Purcell .

approbation or Sorrow at the Mutiny?—He seemed very much confused; he did not say anything.

The Witness withdrew.

Captain EDWARDS called in again and sworn.

Examined by Mr. HEYWOOD—Did I surrender myself to you upon the Arrival of the “Pandora” at Otaheite?—Not to me, to the Lieutenant. I apprehend he put himself in my power—I always understood he came voluntarily; our Boats were not in the Water.

Did I give to you such Information respecting myself and the “Bounty” as afterwards proved true?—He gave me some Information respecting the People in the Island, that corroborated with Coleman’s. I do not recollect the particular Conversation, but in general it agreed with the Account given by Coleman.

By the COURT—Did Peter Heywood give you any Account of the Transactions of the “Bounty” after the Boat was turned adrift to her return to Mativy Bay, Otaheite?—Yes, I had Conversations with Heywood upon that Subject, but I do not recollect all the Conversation that passed.

Did Peter Heywood inform you of the Number of Days that passed after the Boat was turned adrift to her return to Mativy Bay?—I know he gave me some Account; I had recourse to his Journals, and he was ready to Answer any Questions that I asked him.

Did the Information you received from Peter Heywood enable you in any Manner to give the Account you transmitted to the Admiralty respecting the Return of the “Bounty” to Mativy Bay, and her Stay there each Time she did return?—I have observed before that it corroborated with the Information I got from Joseph Coleman, Relative to the People at Otaheite, telling me who were at Mativy Bay and who at the other Parts of the Island; from the Information that I had from Coleman and what I collected from the Journals and sometimes from Peter Heywood I was enabled to form my Letter to the Admiralty; sometimes I had Heywood to explain Parts of the Journal.

Did the Information you received from Peter Heywood enable you to state the Time between the Boats leaving the

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Captain Edwards

“Bounty” and her return to Mativy Bay and how long was it and how long she remained at Mativy Bay?—It was I believe more than a Month before her return, and her stay I believe did not exceed a Week, but I can’t positively say.

How long did she remain after her return the Second Time?—I understood a very short time, for, after the People were landed, she went away in the Night.

Can you give the Court any Information respecting the Number of Men who went away in the “Bounty” the second time?—I understood there were nine belonging to the “Bounty.”

Can you inform the Court of the Number that remained?—I believe they were sixteen.

Did Peter Heywood inform you, whether he continued at Otaheite the first time, or went away in the “Bounty” with the Pirates?—I believe he did tell me that he went away with the “Bounty” the first time.

Was you ever Informed whether any of the “Bounty’s” People remained at Otaheite the first time?—I understood there were none.

When Mr. Peter Heywood surrendered himself to you did he give you any Reason for continuing with the Pirates?—He said he was closely watched and suspected by Christian and his Party.

Do you know that Mr. Peter Heywood, the Prisoner, was informed by any Person on board the “Pandora,” that any Part of the “Bounty’s” Crew had arrived in England, prior to your interrogating him upon that Subject?—Not People belonging to the “Pandora.”

Did Mr. Heywood know that Lieutenant Hayward was on board the “Pandora” when he came to you?—I can’t say positively.

Do you know whether Mr. Heywood knew, prior to your Examining him, that the “Bounty’s” People had arrived in England?—I can’t say positively; he said that he had heard that Lieutenant Hayward was on board.

Did he, upon his coming on board, tell you that the “Bounty” had been run away with and was the Information he gave you, relative to the other Prisoners, of any Service to you in apprehending them?—Yes, in Regard to the Recover-

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Captain Edwards

ing the People. ‘I believe he told me many Circumstances relative to the “Bounty.” I believe he did inform me that the “Bounty” had been run away with.

From the Conversation you had with Mr. Heywood did it appear to you that he then considered himself as partaking of the Guilt of the Mutineers, or did he seem conscious of Innocence and desirous of assisting you in apprehending them?—I have declared before that he hoped to vindicate his Conduct on board the “Bounty.” He gave me Information that was useful in apprehending them; in Consequence of the Information from him and Coleman, I sent the Boats in search of them.

Did you ever receive any Information from any of the Inhabitants of Otaheite that was of Use to you in apprehending the Prisoners?—Yes.

Did the Information you received from the Island come from any Person of Consequence there?—Yes, Oediddee, who was considered as a Chief, and others.

Did you receive assistance from any of the People of Otaheite in apprehending them?—Yes, several.

You have related in your Letter to the Admiralty that at your Arrival at Otaheite you were informed that the Pirates, upon their Arrival there, had told the People that they had met with Captain Cook who had taken the other Officers from them; from whom did you get that Information?—I believe it was generally allowed by the Natives and some of the People.

Did you receive that Information from Mr. Peter Heywood, the Prisoner?—I can’t particularly call to my recollection whether he did or not, but he might have mentioned it with the others.

By Mr. HEYWOOD—When I told you that I went away the first time from Otaheite with the Pirates did I not at the same time inform you that it was not possible to separate myself from Christian, who would not permit any Man of the Party to leave him at that time, lest, by giving Intelligence, they might have been discovered, whenever a Ship should arrive?—Yes, but I do not recollect the latter Part of it respecting giving Intelligence.

The Witness withdrew.

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Lieut. Larkan

Lieutenant LARKAN^s called in again and sworn.

Examined by Mr. HEYWOOD—Did I come aboard the “ Pandora ” voluntarily?—Peter Heywood came on board about 2 Hours after the Ship was at Anchor, in a Canoe, and gave himself up to me on the Quarter Deck as one belonging to the “ Bounty.”

By the COURT—Mention the Words he made use of?—He said, “ I suppose you know My Story.” I made no Answer to that Question; he immediately said, “ I belong to the ‘ Bounty.’ ” I went down and acquainted Captain Edwards that he was on board, and then took him down to the Cabin, and left him there with Captain Edwards.

How long was the Prisoner Peter Heywood on board, before you carried him down to the Cabin?—It could not be above two or three Minutes.

Did no other Conversation pass between you and Peter Heywood than what you have already related?—No.

Did you remain in the Cabin with Captain Edwards and the Prisoner?—No.

After you carried the Prisoner down to Captain Edwards, how long was it before you received Orders to put him into Confinement?—As nearly as I can recollect, about 7 or 8 Minutes after he was in the Cabin Captain Edwards came out to me and desired I would bring the Master at Arms and a Couple of Men to take him in Charge and put him in Irons.

Did the Prisoner Peter Heywood surrender himself to you?—He gave himself up as one belonging to the “ Bounty.” I considered it so at the time.

Did any Person on board the “ Pandora ” to your knowledge inform the Prisoner that any of the “ Bounty’s ” Crew had arrived in England or did he know that Lieutenant Hayward was on board before you took the Prisoner down to Captain Edwards?—Not to my Knowledge.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. HEYWOOD desired Permission for his Friend to read a few Observations upon the Evidence given in his Defence.

^s (Sic) misspelling for Larkin.

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Mr Heywood

Which were read by Mr. Const and are hereto annexed.
My Lord,

The Court having heard those Witnesses I have been enabled to call, it will be unnecessary to add anything to their testimony in point of fact, or to observe upon it by way of illustration. It is, I trust, sufficient to do away any suspicion which may have fallen upon me, and to remove every implication of Guilt which, while unexplained, might by possibility have attached to me. It is true I have by the absence of Captain Bligh, Simpson, and Tinkler been deprived of an Opportunity of laying before the Court much, that would at least have been grateful to my feelings, tho' I hope not necessary to my defence; as the former must have exculpated me from the least disrespect⁹ and the two last would have proved past all contradiction that I was unjustly accused: I might regret that in their Absence I have been arraigned, but thank Heaven I have been enabled, by the very witnesses who were called to criminate me, to oppose facts to opinions and give explanation to circumstances of suspicion. It has been proved that I was asleep at the time of the Mutiny and waked only to confusion and dismay. It has been proved, 'tis true, that I continued on board the Ship, but it has also been proved I was detained by force—and to this I must Add I left the Society of those with whom I was for a time obliged to associate, as soon as possible, and with unbounded satisfaction resigned myself to the Captain of the "Pandora," to whom I gave myself up, to whom I also delivered my Journal¹ (faithfully brought up to the preceding day) and to whom I also gave every information in my Power. I could do no more, for at the first time we were at Otaheite it was impossible for me, watched and suspected as I was, to separate from the Ship. My information to Captain Edwards was open, sincere and unqualified, and I had many opportunities given me at different times of repeating it. Had a track been open to my native country I should have followed it. Had a Vessel arrived earlier, I should earlier, with the same eagerness,

⁹ This was very improbable. *Vide* Introduction, p. 48.

¹ It must be presumed that this journal was lost in the wreck of the "Pandora." This was Sir John Barrow's opinion. *Vide* "The Eventful History," p. 237, note.

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Mr Heywood

have embraced the opportunity, for I dreaded not an inquiry in which I foresaw no discredit; but Providence ordained it otherwise. I have been the victim of suspicion and had nearly fallen a Sacrifice to misapprehension. I have, however, hitherto surmounted it, and it only remains with this Court to say if my sufferings have not been equal to my indiscretion.

The decision will be the voice of Honour and to that I must implicitly resign myself.

MICHAEL BYRN being called upon for his Defence, he delivered to the Court a Paper Writing containing his Defence, which was read by the Judge Advocate and is hereto annexed.

It has pleased the Almighty, amongst the Events of his unsearchable Providence, nearly to deprive me of Sight, which often puts it out of my Power to carry the Intentions of my Mind into Execution.

I make no Doubt but it appears to this Honorable Court that on the 28th. of April, 1789, my Intention was, to quit His Majesty's Ship the "Bounty" with the Officers and Men who went away, and that the Sorrow I expressed at being detained was real and unfeigned.

I do not know whether I may be able to ascertain the exact Words that were spoken on the Occasion; but some said, "We must not part with our Fiddler," and Charles Churchill threatened to send me to the Shades, If I attempted to quit the Cutter, into which I had gone, for the Purpose of attending Lieut. Bligh.

Without trespassing more on the Time of this Honorable Court I, with the most profound Humility, willingly submit my Fate to the Judgement and Mercy with which it may decide upon the Reward which it may be induced to think, is merited by their

unfortunate Prisoner

ML. BYRN.

Mr. FRYER called in again.

Examined by MICHAEL BYRN—Was I in your Watch all the Voyage?—Yes.

As I was in your Watch and under your immediate

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Mr Fryer

Inspection all the Voyage, give the Court an Account of my Behaviour, making an Allowance for my want of sight?— I have nothing to alledge against him; he behaved himself in every respect as a very good Man.

The Witness withdrew.

JAMES MORRISON being called on for his Defence, he delivered a Paper Writing to the Court containing his Defence, which was read by the Judge Advocate and is hereto annexed.

Consious of my own Innocence of Evry *Article* of the Charge Exhibited against me, and *fully* saitisfied of my Zeal for His Majesty's service, I offer the following Narration, in Vindication of *my* Conduct on the 28th. day of April, 1789.

I was Boatswain's Mate of His Majesty's Ship “Bounty,” and had the Watch *on deck* from eight till twelve on the Night of the 28th. of April, 1789. When I came on deck, Mr. Fryer, who was an Officer of the Watch, ordered *me* aft to the Conn, as Peter Linkletter, the Quarter Master, complaind that he could not keep his Watch. There was little wind *all* the Watch, and we were *then* Near the Island of Tofoa; I suppose about 8 or Nine Leagues off.

I staid at the Conn till 12 O'Clock; when I was releiv'd by John Norton, Quarter Master, and went to my hammock; and *slept* till daylight; when Mr. Cole the Boatswain waked me, and told me the Ship was taken, and that Mr. Christian had made the Captain prisoner; and then said, “I hope. Morrison, you have no intention to join Christian's party?” I answerd him, “*No, Sir, you may depend upon it, that I will not; it is far from my intentions.*” He then left me, and I *hurried* on my Cloaths, went up the fore scuttle, and into the Head to look round about me, when I soon found the truth of what Mr. Cole had said, and saw Jn. Williams on the Fore Castle with a Musquett and fix'd Bayonet, Wm. M'Coy and Robt. Lamb at the fore hatchway, Isaac Martin and Wm. Brown on the after part of the Booms, and Heny. Heildbrant on the Quarter deck, all Arm'd in the same manner; Captain Bligh was on the larboard Side of the quarter deck between the Guns, with his hands *tied* behind him and Mr. Christian standing by him with a bayonet in

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one hand and the other on Captain Bligh's *Shoulder*. The small boat was then Out and some hands were Clearing the large Cutter, and Chas. Churchill on the booms giving directions with a drawn cutlass in his hand.

I staid but a few Minutes in the head, when I came Aft and met Mr. *Cole* at the *forehatchway* and asked him, "What was to be done?" He told me he *did* not *know*, but desired me to assist in Clearing the Cutter; Jn. Smith at the same time came forward with a bottle of Rum and a Glass; of which he gave me a glass, saying, "you may as well *have* a *drop*, Morrison, tho' I am ordered to serve *none* but the *Centinels*." I took the rum and went about Clearing the Cutter and got her out, when Chas. Norman, who was *then* in the small Cutter complaining that he could not keep her free. She was got in, and in the Meantime Mr. Christian Ordered Chas. Churchill to see Mr. Hayward, Mr. Hallet, Mr. Fryer, and Mr. Samuel, into the Boat, telling them himself at the same time to get ready to go on shore with the Captain. Mr. *Cole*, Mr. *Purcell* and some others then went to Mr. Christian and beg'd for the Long boat, which after some hesitation was granted and Orders given for getting her out. I went about *Clearing* her, and while I was *thus* Employ'd Mr. Fryer came to me and asked me if I had *any* hand in the *Mutiny*. I told him No! He then desired Me to see *who* I could find to Assist me and try to *rescue* the Ship. I told him I fear'd it was then *too late*, but would do my endeavour, when Jn. Millward, who stood by Me, and heard what Mr. Fryer said, swore he would stand by Me if an Opportunity Offered. Mr. Fryer was about to Speak again, but was prevented by Mathw. Quintell, who, with a pistol in *one hand*, Collar'd him with the *Other*, saying, "Come, Mr. Fryer, you Must go down into your *Cabbin*," and hauled him away. Churchill then Came, and shaking his Cutlass at Me, demanded what Mr. Fryer said. I told him that he Only ask'd me if they were going to have the Long-boat; upon Which Alexdr. Smith, who stood on the Opposite side of the boat, said, "Its a dam'd *lye* Charley, for I saw *Him* and Millward shake hands when the Master spoke to them." Churchill then said to me, "I would have *you* Mind how you *Come on*, for I have my Eye *upon you*." Smith at

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the same time Call'd out, "Stand to your arms, for they intend to make a *Rush*." *This*, as it was intended, put the Mutineers on their Guard, and I found it Necessary to be very Cautious how I Acted, and I heard Captain Bligh say to Smith, "I did not expect you would be against me, Smith"—but I could *not hear* what answer *he* made.

However, I proceeded in Clearing the boat, and when she was *hoisted* out I heard Mr. Christian order Churchill to *see* that *no Arms* were put into her, to keep *Norman, McIntosh* and *Coleman* in the Ship, and *get* the *Officers* into the boat as *fast* as possible.

While Churchill was putting his Orders into execution I was employ'd in getting a *Towline* and *Grapple* and sundry other articles into the boat, but *she* in the meantime was got so full and so deep that those who *were* in her began to Cry out that she would *sink* alongside if *any more* came into her; upon which Captain Bligh said, "you can't *all* go in the Boat, *my lads*; don't overload her, some of you *must* stay in the Ship." Captain Bligh then ask'd Mr. Christian to let the *Master* and some of the *Men* remain in the Ship, to which he replied, "The Men *may* stay, but the Master *must* go with you," and Ordered Mr. Fryer to go into the Boat Immediately.

Mr. Fryer beg'd permission to stay, but to no purpose, and he was *forced* to go into the Boat; on seeing Mr. Fryer and Most of the Officers go into the boat without the least Appearance of an effort to *rescue* the Ship I began to reflect on my own Situation and seeing the situation of the boat, and Considering that she was at least 1000 leagues from *any* friendly Settlement and Judging by what I had seen of the Friendly Islanders but a few days before, that nothing Could be expected from them but to be *plunder'd*, or *killed*, and seeing no Choice but of *one* evil, I chose, as I thought, the least, to *stay* in the *Ship*, especially as I Considered it as Obeying Captain Bligh's Orders, and depending on *his* promise to do Justice to those who remaind, I informed Mr. Cole of my Intention, who made me the like *promise*, taking me by the *hand* and saying, "God bless you, my boy, I will do you Justice if ever I reach England."

I also inform'd Mr. Thos. Hayward of My intention,

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and on his dropping a hint to me that he intended to knock Chas. Churchill down I told him I would second him, pointing at some of the Friendly Island Clubbs which were sticking in the Booms and telling him there *were tools enough!*

I was heartily *rejoiced* to think that any Officer intended to make an Attempt, but was as suddenly damp'd to find that he went into the Boat *without* making the Attempt *he* had proposed, and now gave over all hopes, and resolved to bear *my fate* with as much *fortitude* as I was Able.

As soon as Captain Bligh was in the Boat she was wore Astern. I went *aft* and on hearing *Captain Bligh* request some provisions I got all the pork which was in the harness Casks, *twenty five* or *six pieces*, and handed into the boat. I also got two *large* Gourds of Water out of my *Own birth* which contain'd from 3 to 4 Gallons each; *these* I also handed in, and on Captain *Bligh's* desiring me to get him a Musquet or two I went to Christian and beg'd him to let me give *one* into the Boat, but was refused; when on making further intersession he Ordered four Cutlasses, two of which I handed in *my self* and Churchill brought the other two and said, "There, Captain Bligh! you *don't* stand in Need of *fire arms* as you are Going among your *friends*."

There being little wind, Christian said, "They will make better at their *Oars* than wait to be *tow'd*." Notice of this being given to those in the Boat, Mr. Cole asked for something to sling the Masts over the side that they might be the better able to work at their Oars; on hearing *this* I procured a Ball of Spun yarn and gave into the Boat.

She was *now* Cast off and Christian call'd me to hoist in the Cutter. I heard Captain Bligh desire to speak to Mr. Christian, but *he* gave Orders that *no person* should answer.

With respect to the Evidence given against *me*, it has been said that from *my alacrity* in assisting to *Clear* the Boats, and get them out, it would *appear*, as if I rather favoured those in Arms; But! it has been *fully proved* to this Honorable Court that the Boats were *only granted* after *Much solicitation* by the *Officers* who intended quitting the Ship; and if the Launch had *not* been *prepared* with the utmost expedition the *Chief* of the Mutineers *might* have recall'd his grant.

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I acted in *this*, by order of Mr. Cole, the Boatswain, nor can more Guilt (if it can be deem'd such) be imputed to me in *this particular* than to *Himself*, Who *hoisted* them out, or to the *Carpenter* and his Crew who were *also* active in preparing them.

My *Countenance* has also been compared with that of another employ'd on the *same* business. This Honorable Court knows that *all* Men do not bear misfortunes with the *same* fortitude or equanimity of Mind, and that the face is *too often* a bad index to the Heart.

If there were *No sorrow* mark'd in my Countenance, it was to deceive those whose *Act* I abhorred, that I might be at liberty to *seize* the *first* Opportunity that *might* appear favourable, to the retaking of the Ship.

The Evidence who drew *this* Comparison has *Owned* that it did not *then* appear to him I was Concerned in the Mutiny, and that it was *only* an opinion formed, from *not* finding me in the Boat.

An Opinion so founded will, I trust, have *no Weight* with this Honorable Court, having no foundation whereupon it may rest.

So uncertain is the Judging of *Countenances*, that Captain *Bligh* declares in *his letter*, from the Carpenter's *sullen* and *ferocious* aspect, he took him to be one of the Chief Mutineers; which unfavourable Opinion was *entirely* overthrown by his bearing him Company in the Boat; but, had he chosen to *remain* in the Ship, to an Uncertain (and Judging by Appearances) *inevitable fate* in the Boat, such Conjecture would have been thought *well grounded* on *him*, though his innocence would have been *equally strong*, to a being who Could have discerned his Inward Soul.

It has been fully proved and *Owned* that I was not the *only person* who bore *no active* part in the Mutiny that wish'd to remain in the Ship, had they *been* permitted; and I Humbly conceive it is *impossible* to say *who* might have staid had permission been *granted*.

Let the Members of this Honorable Court Suppose *themselves* in my then unfortunate situation, and it will appear doubtful even to them, *Which* alternative *they* would have taken.

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James Morrison

A Boat alongside *already* crowded, those who were in her Crying Out she would sink, and Captain Bligh desiring *no more* might go in, with a *slender* stock of Provisions; what hope could there be to reach *any* Friendly Shore, or withstand the boisterous attacks of Hostile *Elements*? The Perils those underwent who *reached* the Island of Timor, and whom Nothing but the Apparent Interference of Divine Providence could have saved, *fully Justify* my fears, and prove beyond a *Doubt*, that they rested on a *solid foundation*; for by staying in the Ship an opportunity *might* offer of escaping, but by going in the Boat nothing but *Death* appeared, either from the lingering torments of *Thirst* and *Hunger*, or from the Murderous Weapons of *Cruel Savages*, or being *Swallowed up* by the Deep.

Mr. Hayward in Saying there were *other Boats*, which those who had chosen *might* have got into, *tacitly* acknowledges that the Launch was then as deep as she could *swim*, and which also *fully* appears from Mr. Fryer and the *Carpenter's* Evidence to have been the Case.

As to the suggestion of having *another Boat*, This Honorable Court is well informed that the small Cutter, by reason of her defective Bottom, would *not swim*; is it *therefore* in the least *probable* that Christian would have granted *me* the large Cutter, the only Boat *then* remaining; and the *only one fit for Service*? Or even should I go so far as to allow she *would* have been granted, it would have been Madness in *me* to have got into a heavy Boat by myself without *Water* or provision, for, after having with much assiduity and Intreaty, only procured so *Small* a quantity for the Number Crowded into the Launch, Could I have expected anything for myself? And Might I not have *Perished* with *Hunger*, *thirst*, and *fatigue*, without getting *one Mile* nearer the Land, or if I had *reached* it, from the reception those met with in the Launch would not a cruel death have been *my portion*: for *such* a disposition I conceived the Natives to be of.

It has also been *said* that *when the Boat veerd* astern, I appeared by the *Taffarel under Arms*. Amidst such a *Crowd*, *Tumult*, and *Confusion* Might not the Arms in the hands of another wedged by my side *easily* be thought to be in *my possession*? And might not the Voice of another easily

The “Bounty” Mutineers.

James Morrison

have been taken for *mine*? To what purpose should *I* have Armed myself when all *Apprehensions* of an Attempt to retake the Ship *must* have been over?

Had I approved of the Mutiny and wish'd to Arm myself to Assist in putting it into Execution, I *surely* would not have deferred till the Officers and the Men who accompanied them were placed in a *helpless situation*, where they Could have *no recourse* to Arms and could make *no Effectual attack* on those who had *assumed* the Command.

Had I *approved* of the violence carried into execution, would I have been *so active* in procuring subsistence for those whom by so doing I gave perhaps the *Only Chance* they *could have* of reaching an European Settlement, and *appearing* against me at a *Bar of Justice*?

I have endeavoured to recall to Mr. Hayward's remembrance a proposal he at *one time* made by Words; of *attacking* the Mutineers, and of my encouraging him to the Attempt, promising to back Him with *all the Efforts* I was *capable* of making—He says he has but a *feint recollection* of the business, *so feint indeed*, that he cannot recall to his Memory *the particulars*: but owns there was *something* pass'd to that purpose.

Feint as the Remembrance is (which for me is the more unfortunate) *ought it not* to do away with *all doubt* with respect to the Motives by which *I* was *then* Influenced?

If I Offered to second the *Only* Attempt that was proposed for the recovery of the Ship, and which to me appear'd practicable *if put in Execution*, Could My Heart be on the side of the *Mutineers*? *No!* If I had wish'd them to succeed would I not *Immediately* have left him and *put them* on their Guard? *Besides*, it fully proves by Mr. Hayward's disclosing his Mind to *me*, that he had *unlimited* Confidence in *my* Attachment to *Him*, or he would not have expressed himself to *one* of who's intentions he was *doubtful*, in *that* Manner.

After the Members of this Honorable Court have Maturely weigh'd in their Minds, *these* Circumstances which to me are of the *Utmost Importance*, if *any doubts* remain in *their* Minds with respect to *my* Innocence on that fatal Day; it has always been Accounted the *Glory* of *Justice* in a *doubtful*

The Court-Martial.

James Morrison

Case to throw *Mercy* into the Ballance, when, I *doubt not*, I shall be acquitted of so *black a Crime*.

Resting with entire confidence on the *Humanity* and *Integrity* of this Honorable Court, I humbly wait its Awful decision.

I beg leave most humbly to remind the Members of this Honorable Court that I *did freely* and of my *Own Accord deliver* myself up to Lieutenant Robt. Cornor,² of His Majesty's Ship "*Pandora*," on the first *Certain* Notice of Her Arrival.

JAMES MORRISON.

[With his defence Morrison handed in the following evidence as to character.]

I do certify that Mr. James Morrison served as a Midshipman on board His Majesty's Sloop "*Termagant*" under my command during the year 1782, and I perfectly recollect his conduct met with my entire approbation, not only for sobriety and attention to his duty, but I have ever found he paid due respect to his superiors, and that he was always obedient to command.

London, September 3rd, 1792,

CHARLES STIRLING.

Captain Stirling encloses Mr. Morrison a certificate of good behaviour whilst serving under his command on board the "*Termagant*"; and he most earnestly hopes that as Mr. M. at that time behaved . . . ³ well he will now be able to vindicate his character from the charge exhibited against him.

Bryanston Street,
Sept. 3rd. 1792.

Mr. FRYER called in again.

Examined by JAMES MORRISON—Did you ever see me under Arms on the Day of the 28th. of April, particularly on the Tafrail after the Boat was astern or know that I made use of any sneering Expressions?—No.

Do you know what Watch I was on, in the Ship, and what

² Corner.

³ Word obliterated.

The “Bounty” Mutineers.

Mr Fryer

Watch I had on the 28th. of April?—In my Watch, in the first Watch on the preceding Evening.

Do you recollect the Circumstances of the Pork being handed in over the Stern, or was there any in the Boat before that time?—I know that there was some Pork handed in, but by whom I cannot tell, neither do I know that there was any Pork in the Boat before.

Do you know that there were such Things as two Gourds of Water handed into the Boat?—I know that they were in the Boat, but I do not recollect seeing them handed in.

Do you recollect the Cutlasses coming into the Boat, and by whom they were handed in?—I recollect the Cutlasses being lowered down by a Rope, but by whom I cannot tell.

As I was in your Watch during the Voyage you must be a Judge of my Conduct and you'll therefore explain it to the Court, giving my Character at large?—A steady, sober, attentive, good, Man.

By the COURT—You have said that you did not see him armed nor hear him make use of any sneering Expression; if he had done so was your situation such that you must have seen and heard him?—I must have seen him if he had been armed, and if he had made use of any approbious Language I must have heard him.

By JAMES MORRISON—You acknowledged in a former Evidence that had you remained in the Ship I should have been one of the first whom you would have called upon to assist you in your Plan; do you now confirm that Evidence?—Yes.

By the COURT—When the Prisoner Morrison told you to go down to your Cabin, that it was now too late, in what light did you consider that Advice?—It struck me at the Time that he was afraid of being over heard by the People, who were under Arms behind me, guarding me down, that he did not speak in a jeering contemptuous Manner.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. WILLIAM COLE called in again.

Examined by JAMES MORRISON—Do you recollect seeing me under Arms at the Time of the Mutiny on board the “Bounty” or hearing me make use of any sneering expres-

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Mr William Cole

sions—particularly over the Stern?—I did not see him under Arms—I heard him say that if anybody asked for him, to let them know that he was to the Southward of the Line or something to that Purport.

Do you recollect the Circumstance of the Pork being handed into the Boat and if it was not by me, can you point any Person out who did hand it in?—I know the Pork was put into the Boat, but by whom I cannot say.

Do you recollect that it was by the Clumsiness and Awkwardness of John Norton, that two or three Pieces of the Pork went overboard and that you damned his Clumsy Eyes, and shoved him away from receiving any more of it?—No, I do not remember it—I know three or four Pieces went over board.

Do you remember the Gourds of Water being in the Boat?—Yes, two; I do not know that there was Water in more than one.

Do you remember previous to the Mutiny that there were two Gourds in our Birth, the Property of myself and Messmates?—I can't say what they have in their Messes.

Be pleased to give my Character at large to the Court?—He was a Man of very good Character in the Ship; he was Boatswain's Mate and steered the Captain; he was attentive to his duty, and I never knew any harm of him in my life.

By the Court—When you heard the Prisoner Morrison say that if anybody enquired for him, you should answer, he was to the Southward of the Line, or Words to that Nature, were those Words spoken in a jeering Manner or did he seem to be in Sorrow, at being left behind in the Ship?—They sounded to me as tho' they were spoken Jeeringly.

The Witness withdrew.

WILLIAM PURCELL called in again.

Examined by JAMES MORRISON—Did you see me under Arms on the Tafrail?—I did not.

Did you hear me use any jeering speeches?—I did not.

Did you hear me deliver a Message to Mr. Elphinstone, the Master's Mate?—I did not.

Be pleased to give my Character to the Court?—I always

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William Purcell

saw him diligent, and attentive, during the time I was in the Ship.

By the COURT—Was you so situated that had he been armed, or made use of any jeering Expressions you must have seen or heard him?—I cannot tell.

Did you hear the Prisoner speak at all after you was astern in the Boat?—I cannot say that I did.

While you was astern in the Boat did you hear any Person from the Ship make use of jeering Language?—Yes, but I cannot charge my Memory with who it was.

Did you hear any Person desire that if Enquiries were made for them, it should be said that they were Southward of the Line or Words to that Nature?—No.

Do you know if Morrison gave you either Arms, Provisions or Water at the time you were in the Boat?—I do not.

The Witness withdrew.

CHARLES NORMAN being called on for his defence, he delivered a Paper Writing to the Court, which was read by the Judge Advocate and is hereto annexed.

I had the Watch on Deck on the Morning of the 28th. of April, 1789, and between the Hours of five and Six Mr. Christian ordered me to Coil up the Ropes on the quarter Deck. When I had done I saw a large Shark alongside and call'd out, “There's a Shark on the larbd. quarter.” Mr. Hayward said, “Don't make a Noise,” and him and Mr. Hallet went forward on the larboard side and call'd to some one to get a Shark hook. Mr. Christian then order'd me to go aft and unship the Gangboard ready for Drawing Water for Washing Decks. He then Went down the Fore hatchway and two or three Minutes after I saw Chas. Churchill, Isaac Martin, Alexr. Smith, Jn. Sumner, Matthew Quintell, come armed with Musquets and bayonets, loading as they Came Aft, and run down the After hatchway; in about two Minutes after, Christian Came aft with a Drawn Cutlass in his hand and follow'd them down the Hatchway. I was then standing by the Larboard Gangway and I heard Captain Bligh Call out, “What's the matter? What's the Matter? Murder!” Thos. Burkett was then Standing by

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Charles Norman

the Pump on the larboard side and I saw no Arms that he had then. Churchill call'd out two or three times in terrible threats for some one to hand a line down to tye the Captain, and John Mills, the Gunner's Mate did hand a piece of line down. Soon after I saw Captain Bligh Come up and Christian and Churchill with him, and Martin and A. Smith after him; his hands were tied and he was in his Shirt without any Breeches or Trowsers. They placed him between the two Guns on the Larboard Side of the Quarter Deck and Christian stood by him with the Cutlass in his hand. Churchill then Came to me With a Drawn Cutlass and Pistol and in a Commanding Voice ordered me to Clear the Yams out of the Small Cutter. I ask'd him for What, to which he replied "Do as I order you." I was afraid to refuse and as soon as she was Clear I was hoisted out in her. She was not long Out before I call'd out that she would sink if she was not hoisted in as I could not keep her free with bailing, her bottom being Eaten so much by the Worms. While I was in her McIntosh call'd to me and ask'd me where the large Cutter's Knees were. I told him they were in my tool Chest and soon after the large Cutter was hoisted out and the Small one was hoisted in. As soon as I came out of the Boat Mr. Purcell ordered me to go down to the Store room and Assist McIntosh to bring up the Launch's Knees, which I did, and we brought them up and got her ready for hoisting out and then I lent a hand at the Main Stay and Yard tackles to get her out. Mr. Purcell then told Me and McIntosh to get the two Saws out of the Store Room and a Bucket of Nails of different sizes and some other Stores for the Use of the Boat. I obey'd his orders willingly, as I thought to go with the Captain, but Mr. Christian gave Churchill Orders to mind that Coleman, McIntosh and Norman were kept in the Ship and on hearing this I was affraid to go over the Side for fear of being Shot at, and I can solemnly say before God and this Honorable Court that I was kept against my Own Consent and I told Mr. Hallet to remember me to my Wife and family, for Mr. Christian would not let me go in the Boat with them.

CHARLES NORMAN.

The “Bounty” Mutineers.

Mr Purcell

Mr. PURCELL was called in again.

Examined by CHARLES NORMAN—Do you recollect Christian told Churchill, the Master at Arms, to keep Norman, Coleman and McIntosh in the Ship?—Yes he gave a general Order of that Kind, but not to any particular Person that I recollect.

Did I not go down to the Storeroom, and bring up the Stores for the use of the Long Boat?—Yes.

Be so good as to speak to my Character?—He was sober, diligent and attentive.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. JOHN HALLET called in and sworn and the Letter of Captain Bligh to Norman's Relation being shewn to him he was asked by Norman—Is that Captain Bligh's Hand Writing?—Yes—I think it appears like it. I believe it to be his.

The Letter was delivered to the Court and is hereto annexed.

No. 4 Broad Street, St. Georges East,
March 26th, 1790.

“ Your unfortunate Brother, Charles Norman, was Carpenter's Mate with me and was kept in the Ship against his Will, and I have recommended him to Mercy—his friends may therefore be easy in their Minds on his account as it is most likely he will return by the first ship that comes from Otaheite. He was in very good health.

I am Your . . . ⁴

WM. BLIGH.

I only recd. your letter today.”

Do you recollect, when you was over the Side in the Launch, I called out, “ Mr. Hallet remember me to my Wife and Family, I am kept against my own Will in the Ship ”? —I can't remember that Circumstance.

The Witness withdrew.

⁴ Words obliterated.

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Thomas Ellison

THOMAS ELLISON, being called on for his Defence, delivered a Paper Writing to the Court containing his Defence which was read by the Judge Advocate and is hereto annexed.

Defence of Thomas Ellison.

Honble. Gentlemen,

On Tuesday Morning the 28 Day of April, 1789, 4 Bs.,⁵ it Being Mr. Christain's [*sic*] watch, he being officer of the third watch to which I belonged to, It was my trick at the wheel from 4 till six in the morning. I repaired to my post, John Mills, Gunner's Mate, being at the Conn, he acting as quarter master in the same Watch. About five Chas. Churchill, ship's Corl., came aft to Mr. Christain on the Starboard Side of the quarter Deck, she being on the Starbd. tack, he spok to Mr. Christain in Close Conversation about ten Minutes. I could not hear one word that past between them, They being a breast of the four must⁶ gun, on the qr. Deck. I had not the least Suspition of anything but Minding my Duty. About three Bells⁷ I was surprized to see Mr. Christain and others come aft Armed and went directly down the Companion Lader. In about five Minutes or so Mr. Christain and Party came upon Deck bringing up Captn. Bligh in his shirt with his hands tide be hind him; this Proceeding greatly amaz'd and Terrifyde me; my terror was more Increas'd, at the site of Mr. Christain; he looked like a Madman, is long hair was luse, is shirt Collair open. By this time a number of men was Armd on the quarter Deck around the Captain, Mr. Christain with a Baynet in his hand standing a Long side of him. Captn. Bligh Wanted to talk with him, I believe. I heard Mr. Christain say two or three times "Mammoo, sir," which the meaning of the word is, "Sillance, sir." Then the Captn., looking Round and seeing the Ship Standing of the land, he Disird me to clap the helm down, which I directly obeyed. Mr. Christain orderd the small Cutter to be hoisted Out, and the Main yard was squar'd for that

⁵ Four bells, i.e., 6 a.m. There is probably a mistake in the minutes here. The witness meant 4 a.m. and doubtless said "Eight bells."

⁶ ? Foremast, or foremost.

⁷ 5 30 a.m.

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Thomas Ellison

purpose. I then 'lashde the helm a lee And walking fore and Aft by the wheel the small cutter was hoisted out. I then saw Lawrence Labouge Standing by the Starbd. Chress-tree; he being my Messmate And old ship mate in the "Britania" west India man the Voyage before this, and Captn. Bligh was the Commander, I thought it proper to ask this man's advice as I was Ignorant of what was Intended. I then spoke to John Mills, Quater master, and told him I wanted to go to the head. He told me I might go and would Mind the helm the wile I was absent. I then went and spoke to Labougue and ask What the People where going to do with the Captn. I oney pretended to go to the head For the Purpose to speke to him and ask his advice, he being an old seaman and had Been many years in His Majtys. Service. He being wex'd, I believe, answerd me in a Sharp surly manner, told me to go to hell and not bother him; this Reception from my old ship mate quite Disheartened me from making an application to any One else. The men that was armd was in seeming great Confusion; Others was Clearing out the large Cutter to be hoisted out. When the Large Cutter was hoisting out John Mills went forward and did not Come near me any more. Mr. Christain Told Messers. Samuel, Hayward and Hallet to get ready to go into the Boat with the Captain. When the two later Gentlemen Rec'd the order they weep't Bitterly and Mr. Hayward begged to know what he had done to be sent out of The Ship. On this Mr. Christain repeated his order and told him to go and get himself Ready, as he was Determindn'd he should go. At the time those things where doing The Captain often attempted to talk with Mr. Christain but to no purpose, for he, with many threats bid him Silane. About a Qr. of an hour after the Large Cutter Was out, Mr. Cole, Boatn., [and] Mr. Hayward Jointly begged of Mr. Christain to let them Have the Longboat, as they said the L Cutter was very leaky and would not Swim long and was likewise to small. After some pause Mr. Christain granted their request and gave orders for the Longboat to be hoisted out, and told Mr. Cole, "Mind and see the Yards well Secured." When the weight of the boat came on the Yards The four yard top'd greatly, on which

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Thomas Ellison

Mr. Christain threatn'd him and told him if Either of the yards gave way to take care of himself. The boat went out safe. Mr. Christain still kep his Countenance very severe and by Continual threats Keep every one in fear of him. Some time after the boat was out Isaac Martin, seaman, Lay'd down his Musket And went into the boat, but was sone order'd out again, and if he did not Comply Was threatned to be Shot if the Boat should put of with him in her; then he Came out of the Boat; he did not take up his Musket again as I seen but went foreward. While those things were doing the officers who was Confin'd below was orderd up and was sent into the boat; as they came on Deck and Mr. Christain gave repeated orders to Chas. Churchill not to let the Carpenter mates and Armourer go, but to detain them in the ship. When the officers was in the Boat then Mr. Christain orderd the Captain to go in likewise. After some talk with Mr. Christain he went in likewise. Then [a] number of the people followed as fast as they Could and Captn. Bligh, seeing Great many still wanting to come, begged for god sake that no more would come In, for she would be over loaded and sink with them, and at the same time orders The hammocks and other to be thrown over boad, and too prevent more from Coming in orderd the boat to be vore a stern of the ship, saying to the people In the Ship "My lads, I will do you all Justice for I know whos and who." When the Boat was a stern some pork and other things was handed over into her. Captn. asked for some fire arms, but Mr. Christain would not let him have Any. He sent four Cutlasses to him. This, honourable Gentlemen, is the reale Truth of all I know about this unhappy affair and I hop your honours will take my Inexpearence'd Youth into Consideration, as I never did or ment any harm to any one, much more to my Commander, to whose care I Was recommended by Mr. Camble, a west India Merchant in whose emply Captn. Bligh has saild a Commander in the "Britania" and "Lynx," both is ship. On account of this recomendation Capt. Bligh took great pains with me and spoke too Mr. Samule, his Clark, to teach me Writing and Arithmetick and I believe Would have taught me further had not this happend. I must have been

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Thomas Ellison

very Ingreatfull if I had in any respect assisted in this Unhappy Affair agains my Commander and Benefactor, so I hope, honorable Gentlemen, yo'll be so Kind as to take my Case into Consideration as I was No more than between Sixteen and Seventeen Years of age when this of done. Honourable Gentlemen, I leave my self at the Clemency and Mercy of this Honourable Court.

I am with great Respect

Hond. Gentlemen Obt. Humble. Sert.

THOMAS ELLISON.

Mr. FRYER called in again.

Examined by THOMAS ELLISON—Do you not know if I had been armed on the Quarter Deck when you came upon Deck twice or three times that you could not have seen me as you staid talking to the Captain?—I was only on Deck once before I came away; I do not recollect seeing him when I came up.

Do you not think if I had been armed with a Musquet and Bayonet fixed at the Larboard Gangway that you must have seen me as you went down the Companion?—I don't recollect seeing anybody at the Larboard Gangway when I went up; he possibly might have been there, but from my Attention to other Things, I had not an Opportunity of seeing him.

Do you not think if I had been on the Tafrail jeering anybody, that you must have seen me?—He might have been in the Crowd, on the Tafrail, and being a Boy at the Time I had not an Opportunity of seeing him.

What Age do you think I was of, at that Time?—About 15 Years of Age.

The Witness withdrew.

THOMAS McINTOSH being called on for his Defence, delivered a Paper Writing to the Court containing his Defence which was read by the Judge Advocate and is hereto annexed.

On the Morning of the 28th. of April, 1789, I was in my hammock and asleep when Mr. Cole Came and waked me and at the Same time Call'd Morrison, Simpson and Millward as we all slept in one tier. He told us that the people

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Thomas McIntosh

had taken the Ship. I immediately got up and was putting on my Cloaths when Mr. Purcill Call'd me. I went up to him and ask'd what was to be done; he told me to go and get the Large Cutter's Knees, upon Which I went in quest of Norman and found him in the Cutter alongside and ask'd him where the Knees were; he told me they were in his Tool Chest. I went and got them and fitted the Boat and she was hoisted out. Mr. Purcill then Order'd me to get the Launche's Knees out of the Store Room. I went and was getting them when Norman Came to Assist Me; we got them up and fitted Her, and she was hoisted out, when Mr. Purcill Order'd me and Norman to get a Buckit of Nails some small Stores and two Saws (a Whip and Cross Cut); these we brought up and went for more articles which I thought might be of Service in the Boat; these I also brought and put into her. I then went down for my Own things and was returning with them, When I heard Mr. Christian Call to Churchill to prevent me from going into the Boat, as also Norman and Coleman; I did not know what to do, for I saw Coleman put his bag into the boat but was ordered to take it out again. I stood by the Gangway alongside of Norman Untill the Captain was Ordered into the Boat, When we both told him that Christian would not suffer us to go with him upon which he told us he would do us Justice, and I can Solemnly say before God and this Honorable Court that I had no hand in the unhappy Affair, but meant to go in the Boat with the Captain which he was fully satisfied of.

I would not willingly trespass on the time of this Honorable Court and have only to say that I did voluntarily submit to Lieut. Thos. Hayward and that I came to him for that purpose, and being fully satisfied with the Justice and Integrity of this Honorable Court I humbly wait their Awful Sentance.

THOS. MCINTOSH.

[The prisoner then put the following document in as evidence.]

“ Mrs. Tosh.

Your son who went by the Name of McIntosh is on board

The “Bounty” Mutineers.

Thomas McIntosh

the ‘Bounty’ in the South Sea—I was informed he remained on board contrary to his inclination, and therefore have recommended him to Mercy in case they should be taken.—You may not expect to hear any thing of him untill the ‘Pandora’ returns, which will be 18 Months or two Years.

I am

Your very Hmble. Servt.

WM. BLIGH.

London.

Oct. 16th. 1790.”

Mr. PURCELL called in again.

Examined by THOMAS MCINTOSH—Don’t you remember when you was standing betwixt the Windlass and the Fore Hatchway that you called me, to which I answered and came up, and asked what was to be done?—I called him to go and assist to get the Boat’s Geer up, which he did and gave me Assistance in getting the Boat ready; I can’t be positive to my situation at the Time.

Do you remember, when there was a Debate about the Tool Chest going into the Boat, that the Captain said to Mr. Christian, “you let us have that Tool Chest, you have got a very good one in the Ship, and you may keep the Carpenter’s two Mates?”—No.

Do you recollect Christian’s giving orders to Churchill, to Mind that I nor Norman nor Coleman did not go into the Boat?—I recollect his giving a general Order of that kind, but to no singular Person.

Be so good as to speak to my Character?—He was ever sober, diligent and attentive.

By the COURT—You say you had heard a general Order given to prevent some of the People from going into the Boat; was McIntosh of that Number?—Yes.

Did you hear any other Person’s Name mentioned at that Time but those three?—I did not.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. FRYER called in again.

Examined by THOMAS MCINTOSH—Be so good as to speak to my Character?—I have nothing to say against him, he

Mrs Tosh

Your son who went by the name
of Mr. Entosh is on board the Bounty in the
South Sea - I was informed he remained on
board contrary to his inclination, and therefore
have recommended him to mercy in case they
should be taken. - You may not expect to
hear any thing of him until the Pandora
returns, which will be so soon. In or two years.

I am

Your very Obedient

Wm Bligh

London

Oct. 16th 1750

Letter from Bligh to Mrs. Tosh

(By Courtesy of the Public Record Office)

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Thomas McIntosh

always did his duty with Cheerfulness,*not only as a Carpenter, but as a Sailor; I never heard him murmur, during the Voyage.

The Witness withdrew.

WILLIAM MUSPRATT, being called on for his Defence, delivered a Paper Writing to the Court which was read by the Judge Advocate as follows—

“ It is every day’s practice in the Criminal Courts of Justice on the Land when a Number of Prisoners are tried for the same facts, and the Evidence does not materially Affect some, for the Court to acquit those that are not Affected, that the other Prisoners may have an Opportunity to call them if advised to do so. I beg to have the Opportunity of calling Byrn and Norman.”

The Court withdrew and agreed, That the Court is of Opinion that they cannot depart from the usual Practice of Courts Martial and give Sentence on any particular Prisoner, until the whole of the Defences of the Prisoners, are gone through.

The Court returned and, the above Minute being read,

WILLIAM MUSPRATT then delivered to the Court a Paper Writing containing his Defence, which was read by the Judge Advocate and is hereto annexed.

To the Right Honble. Samuel Lord Hood, Vice Admiral of the Blue, President, and the Members of the Court Martial Appointed on Board His Majesty’s Ship “ Duke ” in Portsmouth Harbour for the Trial of Wm. Muspratt and others, for Mutiny and Desertion.

May it please your Lordship and Gentlemen of the Court,

Under the heavy Charges of Mutiny, Desertion, and running away with His Majesty’s Ship the “ Bounty ” on the 28th. day of April, 1789, I have the satisfaction to acknowledge that I am tried under the most Benign Laws, and by a Court attentive equally to the Life and Liberty of the Subject, as to the Honor of the Crown, and the support of the Royal Navy: and under that satisfaction I presume to call my God to Witness, and to Assure this Honble. Court,

The "Bounty" Mutineers.

William Muspratt

that I am innocent of the Charges laid against me, and beg leave to state, That on the said 28th. of April I was Assistant to the Cook of the "Bounty," then being on her Passage to the East Indies; That Mr. Christian, Mr. Hayward, Mr. Hallett, John Mills, Isaac Martin, Charles Norman, Thomas Burkett, Thomas Ellison, and Matthew Quintal had the 3rd. Watch, and that in that Watch, and between the hours of 5 and 6 O'Clock I went in Company with John Hall, then a Cook, up the fore Scuttle on the Starboard side and sat down to split Wood; That Michael Byrn came up just after and asked me what I was about, making such a Noise when the People were just turned into their Hammocks; that Mr. Hayward at this time came running forward on the Larboard side of the forecastle, to look for a Shark that was then about the Ship and called for his Hook; that I then heard it said that Mr. Christian was gone below to get a Musquet to shoot it; that Mr. Hayward went immediately aft; That Wm. M'Coy then came up the fore Hatchway with a Musquet in his hand and gave two or three hard thumps with its But-end upon the Deck saying, "Bear a hand, for Mr. Hayward is gone Aft"; that a number of Men came up and ran aft; I immediately heard that Captn. Bligh was made a Prisoner; Churchill, Armed with a Cutlass and Pistol, ordered me to assist in getting the Yams out of the Boat, saying, "Otherwise it should be the worse for me"; that finding Norman Assisting, I joined. When the Yams were out I assisted at the forestay Tackle fall; the Boat being out, the Cutter was ordered to be cleared; I then Assisted to clear the Cutter and, the same being out, there was some hesitation respecting the Launch. I then Assisted my Messmate Hall, who was going in the Boat, to get such things from the Galley as we thought would be useful. I then sat down on the Booms abaft the forehatchway on the Larboard side, when Millward came and communicated to me Mr. Fryer's intention to rescue the Ship; I then said I would stand by Mr. Fryer as far as I could. And I humbly hope this Honble. Court will permit me to examine Millward to that, notwithstanding the unfortunate situation in which he stands. With that intention to Assist Mr. Fryer and for that purpose only I took up a Musquet which one of the

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People had laid down and waited for Mr. Fryer's making his Effort to regain the Ship. In this, I submit, I am in some Degree Corroborated by Mr. Cole, but Mr. Fryer with others being hurried into the Boat, I quitted the Musquet and laid it down alongside the Windlass. I then went and Assisted in getting things into the Launch, and here I beg leave to observe that it does not appear upon the Evidence that I was at all active in supporting the Mutineers or that I assisted them in any one instance.

I should call Mr. Purcell in Aid of my Defence, but I must decline it on observing the very unaccountable Manner in which he has given his Evidence to this Honble. Court by stating that he could not charge his Memory with any particular Circumstance as to me, and then in Answer to the Question from the Court What was he doing stating that I was walking about the Ship handing liquor to the Ship's Company, and handing Capn. Bligh's and Mr. Fryer's things up. The truth of both which charges I deny.

Mr. Hayward's Evidence, I trust, must stand so impeached before this Honble. Court as not to receive the least Attention In this Case, where the Lives of so many Men are to be affected by it, For he swears that Morrison was a Mutineer, because he Assisted in hoisting out the Boats and that McIntosh, notwithstanding he Assisted in the same Business, was not a Mutineer.

Mr. Hayward's criminating Morrison from the Appearance of his Countenance;

Mr. Hayward's feint remembrance of that most material and striking Circumstance of Morrison's offering to join him to retake the Ship;

Mr. Hayward's Answer to Muspratt's question that Captain Bligh's words "My Lads, I'll do you Justice," applied to the people in the Boat and not to them in the Ship;

Mr. Hayward's saying that he could not remember that Morrison said to him "Go it, I'll Assist you, there is tools enough in the Ship," when such an Expression to a Man in the Situation Mr. Hayward then stood must have made an indelible impression. And some other Observations which I cannot with Decency make, as they may materially Effect one of the Prisoners now standing at your Bar, and which

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I am sure will not escape the discerning Eye of this Honble. Court, are circumstances which I cannot but believe must most materially affect Mr. Hayward's Credit.

Had I have been under Arms at the time Mr. Hayward has sworn I humbly Submit that Mr. Hallet must have seen me.

The great Misfortune attending this unhappy Business is that no one ever Attempted to rescue the Ship; it might have been done—Thompson was the only Centinel upon the Arm Chest.

WM. MUSPRATT.

Mr. Peckover saw me upon the forecastle not doing anything.

There is not a single Act done by me during the time I had the Musquet or at any other time, and I submit to this Honble. Court that such is a very strong Circumstance, from whence to conclude that I had it for the purpose I have suggested and not for any Mutinous purpose.

THOMAS BURKETT, being called on for his Defence, delivered to the Court a Paper Writing containing his Defence, which was read by the Judge Advocate and is hereto annexed.

On the Morning of the 28th. of April, 1789, I went upon deck at 4 o'Clock to keep my Watch with Mr. Christian; he had the Command of it. I walk'd between the Fore-hatchway and the Windlass till there was Orders given to coil the ropes up for washing the decks. Charles Norman and Henry Heildbrant, the Cooper, went off to coil them up and I went upon the Fore Castle and Clear'd it ready for washing. While I was about it I heard from the Quarter deck that there was a Shark alongside. Mr. Hayward and Mr. Hallett came forward, Mr. Hayward had a Shark hook in his hand and said to me, "Do you see the Shark, Burkett?" I said, "No, Sir, I have not seen it forward." Chas. Norman call'd out that it was coming up on the larboard Quarter. It did not come alongside; then Mr. Hallett said to me, "Burkett, it is my catering week and you must draw those three Fowls for me which are hanging to the Main Stay." I said I did not know how to draw them, but I would draw them as well as I could. When I

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came from the Wheel, as it was my next trick, he said it was not 6 o'Clock and I had time enough before I went, upon which I got them down. Mr. Hayward and Norman were then with us. At that time Mr. Christian came forward and Order'd Norman to go Aft and unship the Gangway ready for drawing water; then He (Mr. Christian) went down the fore hatchway and I heard him say, "Coleman, give me a Musquet to shoot a Shark with." I was busy drawing the Fouls on the Windlass with my back aft when I heard Mr. Hayward say, "What are you about, are you going to Exercise already?" Somebody made answer (I belive it was Churchill), "Yes, I don't know the Captain's reason for it, he has order'd to Exercise at day light." I then heard Churchill say, "Hayward is gone to tell the Captain." I then turned round and saw Mr. Hayward and Mr. Hallett going aft on the larboard side and Churchill with four others Came upon the fore hatchway Arm'd with Musquets and Bayonets, and run aft on the larboard side and went down the after hatchway, Churchill looking in a threatning manner at Mr. Hayward and Mr. Hallett, and appearing to me to Speak to them, but I could not hear what He said. Willm. McCoy came up close after them and took his post at the Fore hatch way, striking the but of his Musquet against the Coamings, saying, "Bear a hand up." Jn. Williams took possession of the Fore Castle, Arm'd in the same Manner; then Came up Mr. Christian with a Musquet and fix'd bayonet and a Cartouch box in his left hand and a pistol and Cutlass in his right, with Fury in his looks; he said, "Here, Burkett, lay hold of this," holding out the Musquet; I ask'd him what I must do with it in a refusing Manner, when he presented the pistol at me, saying, "Damn your blood, lay hold of it and go aft." McCoy said, "Why don't you lay hold of it and go aft as Mr. Christian desires you?" in a surly tone, at the same time loading his piece. I then laid hold of it and went aft on the larboard side, and Mr. Christian went aft to the Starboard, [and] shaking the Cutlass at Mr. Hayward said, "Damn your blood, Hayward, Mamoo," which word in the Otaheite language signifies hold your tongue. He then went down the After hatch way and as I went Aft I heard a door broke open

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and Mr. Christian said, "Bligh, you are my Prisoner." Then I heard the Captain say, "What's the Matter? What's the Matter? Murther!" Then I heard some Glass break and somebody say, "Mr. Fryer, stay in your Cabbin." Another said, "Mr. Nelson, stay below." Mr. Hayward and Mr. Hallett were then standing between the two Guns on the Starboard side of the Quarter Deck, seemingly much Confused. Jn. Mills was at the Conn and Thos. Ellison at the wheel on the same side and Chas. Norman Standing by me. Churchill then Call'd out "Hand down a seizing⁷ to tye the Captain's hands." Nobody offering to get anything, he again Call'd out, "You Infernal buggars, hand down a seizing or I'll Come up and play hell with you all." Then Mills took his Knife out and Cut a piece off one of the lead lines which hung on the Mizen Mast and going to the Starboard side of the Companion handed it down. Soon after I saw the Captain Come up with his hands tied behind him, in his Shirt and with him Mr. Christian, Chas. Churchill, Isaac Martin and Alexr. Smith. I was then at the Gangway and seeing the Captain without Breeches and with his Shirt tail tyed up with the seizing that secured his hands I laid down the Musquet by the dripstone; when Mr. Christian ask'd me what I was going to do I told him, "let down the Captain's shirt," which I did by hauling it out of the lashing. When I had done, Mr. Christian said to me, "Take up your Arms." I took no Notice, but went to the Companion and said to Jn. Sumner, "Hand me up the Captain's Cloaths." In the meantime Jn. Smith, the Captain's Servant, Came aft and I said to him, "Jack, go fetch the Captain's Cloaths it is a Shame to see him stand Naked." Then Mr. Christian said, "Why don't you take up your Arms, Burkett," and putting his hand into his pocket drew a Small pistol out, and I said, "I would have you take care." I took the Musquet, being afraid to refuse; I then went to the Gangway and staid there till the Small Cutter was hoisted out, then Mr. Christian orderd Mr. Hayward and Mr. Hallett to go into the Boat, at which they seem'd verry much Surprized. Mr. Hayward said, "I hope not, what harm did I ever do you, Mr. Christian, that you

⁷ A thin piece of rope or cord, used for tying the hawsers.

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should send me in the Boat! ” Mr. Hallett said (with tears in his Eyes), “ I hope you will not insist upon it, Mr. Christian.” Christian reply’d, “ Go into the Boat,” and Call’d Mr. Samuel and Ordered him to go in the boat. He then Call’d Jn. Smith and Ordered him to bring a Case bottle and give the people a Glass of Rum each. Chas. Norman, who was then in the boat, call’d out that she was sinking, having a large hole in her. Mr. Christian then ordered the large Cutter out. While this was doing I heard the Captain say, “ Consider what you are about, Mr. Christian, for God’s sake drop it and there shall be no more come of It.” He reply’d, “ ’Tis too late, Captain Bligh,” the Captain said, “ No, Mr. Christian, it is not too late yet, I’ll forfeit my Honour if ever I speak of it; I’ll give you my bond that there shall never be any more Come of It.” Mr. Christian then said, “ You know, Captain Bligh, you have treated me like a dog all the voyage. I have been In Hell this fortnight past and I am determin’d to suffer it no longer.” Mr. Cole and Mr. Purcell came and begg’d Mr. Christian to drop it, but he seem’d Inflexible, and said “ You know, Mr. Cole, how I have been Used.” Mr. Cole said, “ I know it verry well Mr. Christian, we all know it, but drop it, for God’s sake.” Mr. Hayward then said, “ Consider, Mr. Christian, What a dangerous Step you have taken.” The Captain said, “ Can there be no other Method taken? ” When Churchill, who stood by, said, “ No, this is the best and only Method.” I then went aft and stood by the Water Cask on the Starboard side, abaft the Wheel, to keep out of Mr. Christian’s sight as much as possible, as I Observ’d him Continually Eyeing me. I put down the arms behind the Cask and stood there while the large Cutter was got Out and the Small one in. I then Went forward to the Fore Hatchway where, seeing Michl. Byrn groping about for something in the Fore Rigging, I ask’d what he wanted. He told me a Sheer rope for the Cutter, upon which I Cut a piece off a Coil which lay there and gave it to him and he Went into the Boat. Churchill then Came and in a surly Manner ask’d me what I was about and where were my Arms. I told him aft. He then told me to go aft and get them and take care of myself, saying, “ I have seen you shifting about, but I have my Eye upon you.”

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I then went aft and stood by the Wheel, but did not take up the Arms, when I saw Mr. Fryer come up and speak to Mr. Christian and the Captain, but did not hear what he said; he then went on the booms and spoke to Jas. Morrison and Jn. Millward, who were on the larboard quarter of the Launch. While he was there Mathw. Quintrell came running up with a Pistol in his hand, took him by the Collar and led him down below; a little after, Jn. Millward came to me and as'd me if I had any hand in the Affair, I told him *No, no more than I was forced to have*; he then told me that Mr. Fryer intended to make a push, and try to retake the Ship, I told him I was verry glad of it, and that I was ready to give him all the Assistance in my power—and that I should Watch his Motions. He then left me and went forward. I then took up my Arms with a good heart, to be ready to Assist in recovering the Ship if any Attempt was Made. The Launch was now got out, and I expected to see some attempt made to recover the Ship. I then saw Churchill go and speak to Mr. Christian, and then to all the rest that were under Arms and talk with them, but did not Come to me. The things were getting into the Boat, and the Officers Came up, when Mr. Cole came aft and was taking a Compass out of the Binnacle, when he was observ'd by Quintrell, who Came aft to stop him, saying He should not have it and ask'd what he wanted with a Compass when Land was in Sight. Mr. Cole told him there were more in the Store room and looking at me said, "It was verry hard that he could not have one out of so many." I then said to him, "Take it." Quintrell then said, "Damn my Eyes, we may as well give him the Ship" and went forward, and Mr. Cole took the Compass and put it in the Boat. The Officers being now all up, I look'd for some attempt to be made but, to my utter surprize and astonishment, saw None. I observed the Captain and Mr. Fryer speaking to Mr. Christian to let Mr. Fryer and some of the people Stay in the Ship as the boat would be overloaded, when Mr. Christian said, "The people may Stay, but Mr. Fryer Must go in the boat." He then Calld out to Churchill to see the Officers into the boat and to take care that Norman, McIntosh, and Coleman were kept in the Ship. Mr. Fryer then said, "You had better let

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me stay, Mr. Christian, for you'll not know what to do with the Ship"; to which he reply'd, "We can do verry well without you, Mr. Fryer." Churchill then hurry'd him into the boat. When Mr. Fryer was in the boat Churchill then went and Spoke to Mr. Christian, who then brought the Captain to the Gangway and untied him; when he was going over the Side he said, "Never fear, my lads, I'll do you Justice if ever I reach England." I then put down the Musquet, seeing it was of no use, and went to the Gangway, which was surrounded by Mr. Christian and his party, when Captain Bligh said, "Don't Come any more into the Boat, she is overloaded already." Every body in her said the same. I was affraid to call out and Could not get near enough to Speak, as the Boat was then dropping astern. I then went aft to the Taffrel and Call'd to the Officers to know if I could get them any thing. Mr. Peckover told me to get him some Cloaths and his pocket book. I went to his Cabbin and brought up the book and Jn. Mills brought up an Armful of his Cloaths and put them into the Boat. The Captain then desired me to get him a Musquet or two upon which I went to Mr. Christian and ask'd him to let me give a Couple of Musquets into the boat, when Churchill said, "I'll be dam'd if you do," and taking up three or four Cutlasses Carried them Aft and sent them into the boat. I then went Aft to see if I could be of any further service, when Mr. Christian Ordred the boat to be cast off and Call'd me to come and trim the sails. I could do no more but give them my hearty blessing and my prayers to God for their Welfare and bid them farewell.

Signed

THOMAS BURKETT.

The foregoing is a copy of a narrative that was written soon after I left the "Bounty," and had got clear of Christian and his Party—foreseeing, that either, sooner or later, myself, as well as every other person on board, would be obliged to render an account of our Conduct and the Motives by which we were actuated.

If the Court will please to consider that it was solely by my interception that the Boatswain was allowed to take

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the Compass in the Boat,⁸ without which, it would have been impossible for those who left the Ship ever to have reached Timor, and, consequently, this Country, and that by consequence, no Evidence under Heaven, even allowing me to be Guilty, could have proved me so—would it not, I say, be a cruel reflection for a generous mind to consider, that Compassion for the distress of my fellow Creatures should eventually be the Cause of my Sufferings.

My enquiring if any thing was wanted in the Boat that I could assist them with, either by Stealth or Intreaty, and my procuring Mr. Peckover his Pocket Book—more especially the first Circumstance—will, I hope and trust, be of some weight in the Scale of Mercy, and pave the way to my acquittal and forgiveness.

The circumstance of Christian making choice of me for one of those who were to remain in the Ship, contrary both to my Knowledge and inclination, certainly argues greatly in favour of my general good, and peaceable character: for Captain Bligh himself expressly asserts, that the reason Christian chose to detain the Carpenter’s Mates in preference to the Carpenter himself (whom I wish not by any means to reflect on) was, that he (the Carpenter) was a turbulent troublesome fellow!

I have little doubt but that the beforementioned simple narration will convince the Court of the reason of my being found under Arms, which I do not, nor never did deny. Threats of immediate Death upon my refusal of the Arms, and attempting to remonstrate upon the folly and wickedness of such a measure were always and constantly repeated to me—and had it not been for my former inoffensive and peaceable behaviour, I should not, perhaps, as I now do, stand in the most unfortunate and deplorable situation that ever Man stood.

All the Evidences agree that prior to the morning of the 28th. of April they never had the least cause to suspect my integrity, or to suppose from my behaviour, that I could ever be concerned in so base a transaction as the Mutinous seizure of the “Bounty”—but on the Contrary, my Character stood fair, and unimpeached—I had done my duty as

⁸ Mr. Cole would not admit this in cross-examination. *Vide* p. 92.

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became an attentive good Seaman. And no one Evidence has ever asserted that I was in the least degree active in obeying any Orders of the leading Mutineers,⁹ or that I committed any outrage, or made use of any Language, that would lead them to believe I was a party concerned, but that I was simply armed with a Musquet, which I have endeavoured to prove how I came into possession of.

Lieut. Hayward, tho' he says he saw me come up the Forehatchway, yet he had before asserted, that he was looking over the Stern at a Shark, when he was roused from that situation by armed people coming aft. I am far from desiring to invalidate the testimony of any Witness otherwise than to shew, in the great confusion and hurry naturally attending such a business and the personal fear that might confuse the Mind on such an occasion, might magnify objects, that, if received in cooler moments, might in reality, appear to be not even the shadow of a shade.

The Boatswain's Evidence particularly states that the Launch's gunwale when she was veered astern was not above 6 or 7 inches clear of the water—it would have been impossible therefore, however good the intentions and principles of those who remained behind might have been, for any more to have escaped, and as to what relates to myself—it will not bear the smallest degree of probability that Christian would have suffered me to have left the Ship whom (as I trust I have made appear to the Court, and which it was impossible for me to corroborate by any present existing Evidence, or even by any absent, but such, as, while their Testimony tended to exculpate me, would bring disgrace and Infamy on themselves) he had singled me out as one that he was determined at all Events to detain, and for the reasons before specified.

Lieut. Hayward, in his Evidence, acknowledges that I was one of those who voluntarily came down from the Mountains and surrendered myself immediately on his requisition—and that he had before remained a Night at the place, and found, that any endeavour to take us by force would have been ineffectual—which certainly argues a consciousness on my part, if not of perfect innocence, yet innocence

⁹ Bligh certainly did. *Vide* Introduction, p. 52.

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in such a degree as not totally to exclude every hope of acquittal and forgiveness.

Surely, all these circumstances considered, there is a great presumption of my being innocent of the Charge alleged against me, and I trust this Honorable Court, which is called together to administer Justice in Mercy, and to whom, at a future, and still more awful Tribunal than that before which I now stand, Justice in Mercy will be administered, where there is no much room to doubt, will incline to the side of an unfortunate Being, who has undergone much long, painful, and close confinement.

If the Court will please to reflect on the State of Mind I must have been in, ever since my first going on board the "Pandora" to the present hour, will be possible for them to form any conception of the disquietude and pain I must have felt, and the Hopes and Fears, Doubt, and Anxiety with which my mind has been constantly agitated?

Consider, Gentlemen, that prior to the morning of the 28th. of April there never was, in any one instance, the smallest reflection upon either my Character or Conduct. If from the want of Evidence I have failed in making my innocence so clear and satisfactory as I could wish, I hope the several favorable circumstances I have before related in my defence, will plead something in my favour.

If I have been wanting in fortitude sufficient to resist the acceptance of the Arms forced on me by Christian, instant Death would have been the consequence of that resistance; and I appeal to my Judges whether Life, in all its various concomitant Misfortunes, is so very easy to resign upon every sudden demand.

Alas! I have erred, I should have resisted, and died!—but error is the Lot of Mortals—forgiveness the noblest attribute of the Divinity—in full hopes and confidence of which, I resign my cause to the hands of this Honorable and impartial Court.

THOMAS BURKETT.

[The prisoner then put in the following evidence as to character.]

This is to Certify, that Thomas Burket, Seaman, now a prisoner, served on board His Majesty's Ship the "Hector,"

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under the Command of Captain Sir John Collins, in the year 1786, when I was first Lieutenant. He behaved with sobriety and attention to his duty—so much so, that he was confidentially considered.

Given at Portsmouth this 3rd. day of September
1792.

J. DOLING.

Mr. FRYER called in again.

Examined by THOMAS BURKETT—You have said that at the Time of the Mutiny you saw me armed with a Musquet; can you positively swear that I armed myself voluntarily and that it was not in Consequence of the fear of Immediate Death with which I was threatened by Christian that I became Armed in the Manner you have related?—I cannot tell.

Be so good as to speak to my Character?—I have already said in my Evidence that he was a very good Man before that Circumstance took Place.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. COLE called in again.

Examined by THOMAS BURKETT—You have said that at the Time of the Mutiny you saw me Armed with a Musquet: can you positively swear that I armed myself voluntarily and that it was not in Consequence of the Fear of immediate Death with which I was threatened by Christian, that I became Armed in the Manner you have related?—I cannot say he was Armed before I came upon Deck.

Be so good as to speak to my Character?—The Man had always a very good Character before this.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. PECKOVER being called in again,

Examined by THOMAS BURKETT—Did I not, when the Launch was veered astern, appear upon the Tafrail and ask if I could get any thing for any of the Officers, and did I not in Consequence of your desire give you your Pocket Book which I got out of your Cabin?—I think I recollect the

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Pocket Book; he went down below and got a Handkerchief of different Things and threw them into the Boat.

Did you not receive the Pocket Book?—I believe I did.

The Witness withdrew.

Lieutenant HALLET called in again.

Examined by THOMAS BURKETT—Do you remember ordering me to do any thing a few Minutes before the Mutiny happened?—Yes. It was not an Order. I asked him to pick a fowl, which he was doing at the time, but laid it down in a Hurry and went below, but for what at that time I did not know, and he shortly came up again Armed.

Were you not aft upon the Quarter Deck, standing between the two Guns on the Starboard Side on the Right hand of Mr. Hayward, when Mr. Christian went aft on the Starboard side and said “Damn your blood, Hayward, Ma-moo,” at the same time shaking a Cutlass at him that he had in his Hand, then went over the Companion Hatch down the Ladder towards the Captain’s Cabin?—I do not recollect to have been abaft the fore Hatch Way that Morning till after the Mutiny had broke out and Captain Bligh was seized, and am positive that I was not there at the time he alludes to.

Be so good as to speak to my general Character on board that Ship before that Morning?—Before that Time he always appeared to be a quiet and civil Man.

The Witness withdrew.

JOHN MILLWARD, being called on for his Defence, delivered to the Court a Paper Writing containing his Defence, which was read by the Judge Advocate and is hereto annexed.

About Six O Clock on the Morning of the 28th. day of April, 1789, Mr. Cole and Mr. Purcell came to my Hammock and Waked me (as also Jas. Morrison, Thos. McIntosh and Geo. Simpson, who all slept in the Same tier on the Larboard Side of the Fore Mast) telling us that Mr. Christian had taken the Ship and that Captain Bligh was then Prisoner on the Quarter Deck with his hands tye’d behind him, saying at the same time they hoped that none of us were Concerned

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John Millward

in the Mutiny. I told them I had never heard of it before, and that they might depend on me not having any Intention to join the Mutineers. They then left me and I went up the Fore Scuttle on the Fore Castle where I was met by Chas. Churchill, who told me I might take my Choice to go in the Boat or Stay in the Ship, to which I answered, "No, Charles, you brought me into one Predicament already ¹ and I'll take Care you don't bring me into another." He then left me saying "As you like it," and I went abaft the Windlass, where I met Mr. Cole, who asked me what I was doing. I told him, "Nothing." He then desired me to lend a hand to clear the Cutter, and I went Immediately. The small Cutter was out, but verry leaky, and as soon as the large Cutter was out the Small one was hoisted in, and the Launch ordered to be Clear'd. While I was about this, Mr. Fryer Came to Morrison and Me and asked if we were concern'd in the Mutiny. I told him no. He then desired us to do our endeavour to form a party to retake the Ship and we answered that we would. I then shook hands with Morrison and we Swore to Stand by each other. I then went Aft on the Starbd. Side of the Quarter Deck and spoke to Burkett. Seeing him Without Arms I asked him if He had any hand in the Mutiny; he told me No. I then told him what Mr. Fryer had said and he promised to assist us, saying he would watch for an Opportunity. We could say No more on Account of the Centinels Coming towards us and I left him. I then went forward on the Booms and saw Willm. Muspratt by the Fore hatchway. I made known Mr. Fryer's Intentions to him and went down to Mr. Cole who, together with Lawc. La Bogue, were packing up some things in the Fore Cockpitt. I told him what Mr. Fryer had said, to which he said he was affraid it was too late. I then Came upon deck and went to assist in getting the boat out. While I was hauling the Main trusses taught, Alexr. Smith Came to me with a Cutlass in his hand, saying, "Take hold of this, Millward." I asked him, What I was to do with it, to which he reply'd, "Never you mind, lay hold of it." I took it and he left me; as soon as he was gone I went aft and stuck it in the lashing of the Dripstone and went

¹ I.e., his previous desertion at Tahiti.

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John Millward

to hook the tacle on the Boat and she was hoisted out; when she was out I Came aft to the Cabbin hatchway to hand the things up that were to go into her. While I was here Mathw. Quintrell Came running up and desired me to take hold of the Musquet and pistols which he had then in his hands. I refused to take them, telling him I had other business in hand, When Mr. Christian, Steping towards me with a Bayonet in his right hand (his left on Captain Bligh's Shoulder), told me to take them and go down and stand in the Cabbin Passage. I was affraid to deny and accordingly Obey'd his orders. When I went below I found Jn. Sumner, the Sentry, at Mr. Fryer's Cabbin door; when I found an Opertunity of Speaking to Mr. Fryer I ask'd him if the Pistols I had were what came out of his Cabbin and if they were loaded with ball. He told me they were the same and that they only Contained loose powder. "Then, Sir," said I, "I won't trust to them." I was there about a quarter of an hour when Churchill came to the Companion and Order'd the Officers up, telling them the boat was ready for them, upon which I came up Immediately, expecting this was the time, if ever, to make a push, when all the Officers were upon Deck, and was ready to assist if any Offer was made. When Mr. Fryer Came up He went to Mr. Christian and begg'd leave to stay in the Ship, but Mr. Christian answer'd, "No, Sir, We can do verry well without you, go in the boat" Mr. Hallet and Mr. Hayward then Came and begg'd leave to stay, but were deny'd and Ordred into the Boat, which they with much reluctance Obey'd; when they were in the Boat they begg'd that no more people should Come into her, for that she was then overloaded. Captain Bligh then said, "For God's sake, my lads, don't overload the Boat; I will do you Justice if ever I reach England." He then begg'd of Mr. Christian to desist and said, "Consider my Wife and family"; to Which He reply'd, "It is too late now, Captain Bligh, You should have thought of them before this time." Then Churchill said, "Come, come, Captain Bligh, your Officers are in the Boat and waiting for you and you must go." Captain Bligh then went into the Boat and she was wore astern. Mr. Christian then Call'd to me and giving me a Musquet desired me to go Aft and keep the

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people from discouraging with the Captain, upon which I went Aft and gave them all the Assistance that I could and handed every thing that Mr. Christian would permit and when the Boat was Orderd to be Cast off I pull'd my Jacket off and threw it in to George Simpson, who was my Messmate, and with it my prayers for their protection, being all that I was then Able to do or say as Christian's party were all around me watching every thing that was done.

JNO. MILLWARD.

Mr. WILLIAM COLE called.

Examined by JOHN MILLWARD—Did I not come down into the Cockpit and inform you of Mr. Fryer's Intention of making an Attempt to retake the Ship At the time you were taking some Cloaths out of your own Chest in your Cabin?—I don't remember anything of it at all.

At the Time you were getting the Cloaths out of your Chest and Lawrence Lebougue was getting Twine out of the Colour Chest at the same time, do you recollect the Words you said to me that if I should stay in the Ship I might have what Cloaths remained of yours?—I do not remember seeing of him nor a Word of the Kinds passing.

Be so good as to speak to my Character?—I never knew any Harm of the Man in the former Part of the Voyage.

The Court adjourned till to-Morrow Morning at nine o'Clock.

Tuesday, 18th September, 1792.

The Court met according to adjournment.

The Prisoners brought in and Audience admitted.

The President having asked the Prisoners if they, or any of them, had anything more to offer to the Court in their Defences, Mr. Heywood produced a Certificate of his Birth which is hereto annexed,² and the others not having anything more to offer, the Court was cleared and agreed That the Charges had been proved against the said Peter Heywood, James Morrison, Thomas Ellison, Thomas Burkitt, John Millward and William Muspratt, and did adjudge them and each of them to suffer Death by being hanged by the Neck, on board such of His Majesty's Ship or Ships of War, at such Time or Times and at such Place or Places, as the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland etc. or any three of them, for the Time being, should in Writing, under their Hands direct;

² PETER HEYWOOD'S BIRTH CERTIFICATE.

This is to certify to all whom it may concern that Peter Heywood, the Son of Peter John and Elizabeth Heywood, was born at the Nunnery in the Isle of Man between the Hours of 6 and 7 o'Clock in the Evening on the 5th. of June 1772.

Witness—ISAAC WILLIAMSON.

Cumberland.—The above named Isaac Williamson, Surgeon and Mast midwife, came before me, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County aforesaid, and swore that the above is his Signature and that the Facts in the said Certificate named are true—Whitehaven July 24, 1792.

Before me C. C. Church.

ISAAC WILLIAMSON.

This is to Certify to all whom it may concern that Peter Heywood, the Son of Peter John and Elizabeth Heywood, was born at the Nunnery, in the Parish of Kirk-Bradden in the Isle of Man, between the hours of six and seven o'Clock in the Evening on the 5th. day of June 1772—Witnessed by me

BETTY BIRKET.

Sworn at Douglas in the
Isle of Man, on the
28th. July 1792—Before
me

JOHN COSNAHAN, High-Bailiff of Douglas aforesaid.

Peter Heywood, and James Morrison
to His Majesty's Royal Mercy —
And the Court is further of Opinion
That the Charges have not been proved
against the said Charles Norman
Joseph Coleman, Thomas M. Intosh
and Michael Byron and doth adjudge
them and each of them to be acquitted
and the said Charles Norman, —
Joseph Coleman, Thomas McIntosh
and Michael Byron are hereby acquitted
accordingly.

And

A. S. Hammond

Att. Genl. -
for the Crown

Roger Lucie

Wm. W. W. W.

J. Douglas

J. Duckworth

J. P. P. P.

J. P. P. P.

J. P. P. P.

J. P. P. P.

A. Greenham Junr.

Indep. Advocate for the Prisoners

Signatures of the President and Members of the Court-Martial

(By Courtesy of the Public Record Office)

The Court-Martial.

but the Court, in Consideration of various Circumstances, did humbly and most earnestly recommend the said Peter Heywood and James Morrison to His Majesty's Royal Mercy³—and the Court further agreed That the Charges had not been proved against the said Charles Norman, Joseph Coleman, Thomas McIntosh and Michael Byrn, and did adjudge them and each of them to be acquitted.

The Court was opened and Audience admitted and Sentence passed accordingly, after which William Muspratt delivered to the Court, a paper Writing, which was read by the Judge Advocate as follows :

To the Right Honble. Samuel Lord Hood, President, and the Members of the Court Martial Assembled on board His Majesty's Ship the " Duke," for the Trial of William Muspratt and others for Mutiny and Desertion.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

By the King's Command I have been tryed by the Honorable Court and stand convicted of Mutiny and Desertion.

I have not the most distant Idea of arraigning the Justice of the Court, but I have to lament that the Practice and usage of a Court Martial, should be so different from the Practice of all Criminal Courts of Justice on Shore, as that, by the one I have deen debarred calling Witnesses whose Evidence I have Reason to believe, would have tended to have proved my Innocence, whereas by the other I should have been permitted to call those very Witnesses on my behalf. This Difference, my Lord, is dreadful to the Subject and fatal to me.⁴

³ For the result of this recommendation, *vide* Introduction, p. 50.

⁴ For the result of this appeal, *vide* Introduction, p. 53.

Bibliography.

Since the works on the mutiny of the "Bounty" and its consequences are numerous and have been listed in detail by Sir Everard im Thurn in the bibliography included in Sir Charles Lucas's "Pitcairn Island Register Book," the Editor feels it unnecessary here to do more than mention the chief authorities on the subject.

- 1 Barrow, Sir John "The Eventful History of the Mutiny of the 'Bounty.'" John Murray, 1831.

A comprehensive account, not only of the mutiny, but of events preceding it and subsequent to it. The name of the author, who was Secretary of the Admiralty, does not appear in the original edition. Later writers have quoted freely from this work, with and without acknowledgment.

2. Beechy, Captain F. W., R.N. "Narrative of the Voyage to the Pacific in H.M.S. 'Blossom.'" Two vols. Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831.

Captain Beechey visited Pitcairn Island in 1825, and devotes two chapters in vol. 1. to Pitcairn Island, giving a description of the settlement and narrating Adams's account of the mutiny and subsequent events.

- 3 Belcher, Lady. "The Mutineers of the 'Bounty' and their Descendants on Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands." John Murray, 1870.

Valuable as quoting long extracts from the manuscript journal of James Morrison, *vide* Introduction, p. 6.

- 4 Bligh, Lieut. William, R.N. "A Narrative of the Mutiny on board H.M.S. 'Bounty' and the subsequent voyage of part of the Crew in the Ship's Boat from Tofoa . . . to Timor." George Nichol, 1790.

Bligh's first published account of the mutiny and open boat voyage. It contains a plan of the launch and three charts.

5. — "A Voyage to the South Sea." George Nichol, 1792.

This gives an account of the outward voyage of the "Bounty" and of her stay at Tahiti, and incorporates No. 4, with certain corrections.

6. — "An Answer to Certain Assertions." George Nichol, 1794.

Bligh's Reply to Edward Christian's "Appendix" (No. 8), *vide* Introduction, p. 59. Sir Everard im Thurn states that the only printed copy so far traced is in the British Museum, where it is bound up in a volume of "Geographical and Nautical Tracts."

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7. Brodie, Walter. "Pitcairn's Island and the Islanders in 1850."

Brodie was stranded on the island for some weeks, and gives a detailed account of the history of the settlement and the conditions at the time of his visit; also some valuable genealogies of the island families.

8. Christian, Edward. "An Appendix containing a full account of the real causes and circumstances of the unhappy transaction the most material of which have been hitherto withheld from the public." J. Deighton, 1794.

Vide Introduction, p. 55. This was published with Stephen Barney's "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court Martial." The latter is not "the official report of the proceedings," as stated by Sir Everard im Thurn, nor is there a copy in the Admiralty Library, as he mentions.

9. Fryer, John. "A Narrative of the Mutiny." Undated.

This interesting MS. journal is in the Library of the Royal United Service Institution, having been bequeathed in 1887 by the late Hugh Rump, of Wells. *Vide* Introduction, p. 14.

10. Lee, Ida. "Captain Bligh's Second Voyage to the South Seas." Longmans, Green, 1920

An account of Bligh's voyage in the "Providence" to procure a second collection of bread-fruit plants, with references to the mutiny, &c.

11. Lucas, Sir Charles (editor). "The Pitcairn Island Register Book." S.P.C.K., 1929

The earliest record from within the settlement on Pitcairn Island, its entries covering the years, January, 1790, to February, 1854, when the settlement was moved to Norfolk Island. The original of this interesting document is in the archives of the S.P.C.K.

12. McFarland, Alfred. "Mutiny in the 'Bounty.'" Sydney, 1884.
A popular account of the Pitcairn Islanders and their history.

13. Marshall, John, R.N. "Royal Naval Biography." (Article on Peter Heywood), 1823-5.

This long notice of Peter Heywood (in vol. ii., Part II.) contains an account of the mutiny and many extracts from Morrison's Journal. The tone is violently anti-Bligh.

14. Murray, Rev. T. B. "Pitcairn: the Island, the People and the Pastor." S.P.C.K., 1853.

The first part deals with the mutiny, &c., following the lines of "The Eventful History"; the second deals in detail with the development of the settlement and with Rev. G. Nobbs, the Chaplain of Pitcairn.

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15. Parliamentary Reports : "Pitcairn Island." 1857.

Official correspondence regarding the removal of the inhabitants of Pitcairn to Norfolk Island.

16. "Correspondence relating to the Condition of the Pitcairn Islanders." (Two papers, C 9148, Cd. 754.) H.M. Stationery Office, 1899, 1901.

Contains much interesting information regarding the physical conditions of the islanders who returned from Norfolk Island, together with information as to their system of legislation, &c.

17. Rawson, Geoffrey. "Blgh of the 'Bounty.'" Philip Allan, 1930.
A well-written and impartial life of Blgh, devoting 60 pages to the events connected with the mutiny

18. Rodwell, Sir Cecil. "Report on a Visit to Pitcairn Island." H M. Stationery Office, 1921.

A brief account of modern conditions, by the then High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

19. Routledge, Mrs Scoresby. "The Mystery of Easter Island." Sifton, Praed, 1919.

Mr. and Mrs. Scoresby Routledge visited Pitcairn Island in 1915 on their return from their expedition to Easter Island, and chapter xx. of this book is devoted to present-day conditions.

20. Shillibeer, Lieut. J, R.N. "A Narrative of the 'Briton's' Voyage to Pitcairn Island." 1818.

The "Briton" and her consort, the "Tagus," were the first British ships to visit the settlement. This is a personal narrative.

21. Tagart, Edward. "Memoir of the late Captain Peter Heywood, R.N., with extracts from his Diaries and Correspondence." Effingham Wilson, 1832.

22. Thomson, Sir Basil (editor). "Voyage of H.M.S. 'Pandora.'" Francis Edwards, 1915.

This volume includes Capt. Edwards's narrative (not previously published) and that of George Hamilton, the surgeon (published 1793).

23. Young, Rosalind Amelia. "Mutiny of the 'Bounty' and Story of Pitcairn Island. 1790-1894." Pacific Press Publishing Co., 1894.

The authoress was the great-granddaughter of John Adams.